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Countryside 'On Brink of Starvation'

AU1908180791 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Aug 91 p 1

[Frano Caka article: "The Countryside on the Brink of Starvation"]

[Text] The countryside is plunging deeper into misery every day. Let anyone who does not believe this go see for himself (especially to the northeast). Former promises have evaporated. Where there is no bread, there is misery. It is the beginning of August. In the center of Maqellare, once known as "the Myzeqe [fertile plain] of Diber [mountainous area]," a group of 20-30 peasants are carrying folded burlap sacks under their arms. Poorly clothed, dust-covered, unshaven and long-haired, with dried lips and bloodshot eyes, shaken in spirit, and blackened by the summer heat and the high "temperature" of the political struggle among the parties, these distressed people are searching for wheat. They wander here and there. They never imagined that they would come this far. The wheat fields were plundered. They say that in Kllopcisht someone seized 100 quintals of wheat from the storehouse all at once, after bribing the watchman. Someone also paid a large amount in leks for a combine harvester, and took a similar quantity from the fields, taking it home for resale at many times the price. It is the produce of our common sweat. Other people are left empty-handed, holding just a sack, although it was said that this year Maqellare would produce wheat for itself and for others.

"I am the seventh in my family, and have to feed five children. I will not go back home, because I have nothing to give them. They want bread. The corn bread won't be ready for another four months. How will we make it until the autumn?"

The 40-year-old man speaking is Luan, from Katund i Ri. He turns aside so as not to look you in the eye. Another man from Pocest, likewise with an empty sack, has 11 children to feed. These people are wandering in search of bread, their right. No one helps them. They turn to the pluralist authorities in the district and to the parliament. There is no answer. They have innumerable problems and grievances.

Rexhep Keshi asks where one can turn for aid. According to him, Maqellare has only received one half of the aid allocated to it. A man with a moustache, who introduces himself as a member of the Democratic Party, says that "those in power" are seizing the grain. "They lost political power, and now they want to retain economic power at all costs," he says, mechanically regurgitating phrases from newspapers. The others look askance at him. They do not want to know about political parties. According to them, the political parties are haggling, each for its own interests. No one is dealing with their troubles.

Land distribution is a source of more confusion. In the last six months, not a single signature has appeared on the cooperative's work roster in Maqellare, which has 13,000 inhabitants. Problems increase every day. It is said that a deputy came from Tirana, stopped in front of the cooperative's cowsheds, and said, "What are these ruins? Are they still standing? Flatten them!" Like barbaric hordes, his supporters surged forward with crowbars and whatever lay to hand, attacking the cowsheds and bakeries, demolishing the nurseries and kindergartens, and seizing everything owned by society, even the bookstores. The epidemic spread from one district to another. Even in Mat, they talk about the many ruins left behind after "summons" of this kind. Alongside the road to Peshkopi, only fragments of walls are left to show the cowsheds of Melan, like the Illyrian castle of Grazhdan.

Destruction brings misery in its wake. No one stands up to the violence. They told us they did something sensible in Dolovan. The bakery was privatized. Three people seized it and saved it from destruction. On their own initiative, they saved the village. Something similar could be done to avert ruin in other villages.

The countryside is being burned by the fires of political struggle. Bread is in short supply; in some places the telephone does not work because the poles are down; neither newspapers nor letters reach the villages. Women get up two hours before dawn, and their work goes on till late, very late. If you mention to them party programs, electoral propaganda about the "liberation" and protection of women, they may curse you. "What do you mean? Whoever was so crazy to say 'destroy the cooperatives,' may his tongue shrivel in his mouth!" That was what a mother said to my journalist colleague who stayed overnight at Brest in Kastriot. The bride of the house wept, "Poor me, what will I do when the sowing starts? The day is not long enough to look after the house and children."

The forest is far away. It takes five hours to go there, two hours to cut wood, and five hours to return. Everyone has to cook in their own home. The bread comes out of the oven at midnight. Such cases are increasing in the countryside. It is just as well that the newspapers do not arrive. Many journalists, scribblers, and party leaders are dealing with other things, with the political struggle, the commotion of programs, their credibility, and redressing of the past.

De Michelis Makes Stopover in Tirana, Meets Bufi

AU1908190991 Tirana ATA in English 1805 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 19 (ATA)—Today afternoon, on his way home, the minister of foreign affairs of Italy, Gianni De Michelis, had a one-hour stop at the Rinas Airport.

In one of the environments of this airport, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi; the deputy prime minister, Gramoz Pashko; and the deputy foreign minister, Ilir Bocka, met with Gianni de Michelis.

In the meeting they talked of the measures to receive as soon as possible the aids the Italian Government has granted Albania. Likewise, they spoke of the recent events in the Soviet Union, the dismissal of President Gorbachev.

Attending the meeting was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Tirana, Torquato Cardilli.

Defense Minister Teta Discusses Army Situation

AU2008080391 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 10 Aug 91 p 9

[Interview with Defense Minister Perikli Teta by Pal Shtufi; place and date not given: "We Will Do Our Utmost To Protect the Existence of Our Brothers"]

[Text] [Shtufi] Mr. Teta, you were the candidate of the Democratic Party and this is a sign that you will be a stabilizing factor under current circumstances in Albania.

[Teta] I do not belong to any political party. The Democratic Party nominated me for my post. I was very pleased at this nomination, because I see it as an opportunity to show my devotion to the great cause of my people and my nation. Of course, the general situation is very serious, which makes my duties more difficult, but I am confident that we will come through. I place my confidence first of all in our people's patriotism (regardless of their party political allegiances), and the high sense of responsibility they show in carrying out their defense duties.

The fact that the Army is increasingly a factor of stability is not related purely to the fact that I am the Democratic Party's candidate (although this is important, because the Democratic Party is a very influential force among the Albanian public today), but is related to our Army's characteristics and traditions. Ordinary sons of the people fill its ranks as officers and soldiers, and they consequently cannot separate their interests from those of the people. This guarantees that the Army will powerfully support democratic processes in our country and will be an important factor of stability.

[Shtufi] Within the all-round changes, is the Army, too, becoming democratic?

[Teta] We are now experiencing a period of democratization, not only in our society, but in international relations in general. For instance, the political, economic, legislative, and social institutions in our country are being restructured within a very short period of time. As part of this, there have also been important changes in the Army. I would single out the changes in outlook and psychology as the most important. The Army's personnel is increasingly understanding the need for radical changes, not only in society but within the ranks of the Army and in the Army's relations with the country's political institutions and forces.

[Shtufi] So, will you carry out a reorganization of the Albanian Army?

[Teta] The democratic measures in the Army also include the Army's reorganization. This is in order that we may respond better to our defense duties, to current political and military changes in the region and beyond, etc.

First, the reorganization will be extensively and scientifically debated in academic institutions and the General Staff, with the aim of placing the Army on a scientific basis, and putting behind us the erroneous concepts of the past.

While on this subject, I would wish to stress that we at present suffer greatly from the errors of the past, which stemmed from the incompetence of the former leadership and its introduction of many mistaken ideas and practices in our military organization. We will therefore act more courageously and determinedly in the future, to reform everything that is obsolete, without the slightest nostalgia for the past.

[Shtufi] Does this mean that taking politics and parties out of the Army is inevitable?

[Text] There was extensive discussion of this not only among our country's political forces, but also among Army personnel. It is an interesting fact that Army personnel, in contrast to what some skeptics imagined, supported the most radical variant, that of depoliticization.

Depoliticization in all Army organizations at all levels has now been carried out de jure (because it is of course difficult to suppress personal sympathies), and the impartiality of the Army in the parties' political race has been ensured. This has increased the Army's authority in the eyes of the people and made it an important factor of national unity.

[Shtufi] It is nevertheless said that the monuments and symbols of a certain party survive in the Military Academy.

[Teta] I assure you that there are now no party monuments or symbols, not only in the Military Academy, but in any military unit or institution. Our Army has now put this phase behind it, and takes the high interests of the Albanian people and nation as its lodestar.

[Shtufi] Were pillboxes necessary in Albania?

[Teta] Under the conditions of the Cold War between the blocs, Albania too no doubt had to take measures for the country's defense. What forms and methods should have been used is another question and I think time will judge. To judge from our present position, we should not have built exaggerated numbers of pillboxes, to the extent that nowhere was left without them. I think that the damage here was done by the megalomania of the Albanian bureaucracy, which distorted and degraded the just concept of fortifying the country, and caused the arbitrary expenditure of considerable amounts of money and materials.

In the future, we will consider the possibility of "freeing ourselves" from these pillboxes, and will use steel and other construction materials.

[Shtufi] What influence have the events in Yugoslavia had on the Albanian Army's alertness?

[Teta] The events in Yugoslavia have raised the level of the alertness not only of our Army, but of the armies of other countries bordering on Yugoslavia. It is natural for all Yugoslavia's neighbors to think about confronting the dangers that may arise from developing events in Yugoslavia, and especially for us Albanians, because one-half of the nation lives there.

[Shtufi] You know that we in Kosovo are threatened by a massacre by the Serbian Chetniks, on a scale never before seen in the Balkans. Do you think that Albania has the moral right, and not merely the moral right, to help us in defending our national and physical existence?

[Teta] We are aware of this danger and we are very concerned about the fate of our Albanian brothers in Kosovo. We would not wish such a thing to happen, because it would not only be a major national drama and disaster, but also a disgrace and a dark stain on Serbia and the new democratic Europe. Every person and nation has a moral right to help in such a case, not just we Albanians. We will do everything to protect our national existence and the lives of our beloved Kosovar brothers and sisters.

[Shtufi] It is well known that Albania produces some of its own armaments. Are these produced for 3 million or 7 million Albanians? [No reply to this question, as published]

Considering the specific circumstances in the Balkans and Europe and the new currents of the interests of the two superpowers, do you think that a Serbian-Albanian war could erupt?

[Teta] I do not at present see a danger of the outbreak of a Albanian-Serbian war. Nevertheless, there are plenty of elements in the policies of leading circles in Serbia that lead one to suspect the situation may develop in an undesirable way. One of these elements is the way in which the Yugoslav Army has escaped the influence of the federal organs, and another is the large-scale deployment of Yugoslav troops on the Albanian border, especially in Kosovo. If you add to this the arming of Serbian Chetnik bands, the situation becomes more fraught with danger.

[Shtufi] If Yugoslavia disintegrates, will Albania agree to Kosovo remaining under Serbian rule?

[Teta] I myself believe that the democratic processes that have swept across Europe have opened up new scope for the realization of the national aspirations of the Albanians of Kosovo too. As the distinguished Albanian professor Rexhep Qosja has said, history teaches us that an oppressed people will achieve what it desires. Albanians have no lack of moral, intellectual, and physical energies to fulfill their national aspirations.

Finally, through the pages of this newspaper, I would like to wish the Albanian people living in Kosovo, especially the brave and wise young people of Kosovo, constant progress on their road toward knowledge, progress, and full national emancipation.

Foreign Minister Kapllani Seeks European Aid

AU1908173391 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 19 Aug 91 p 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani by Carl E. Buchalla; place and date not given: "Young People No Longer Have Confidence"]

[Text] [Buchalla] Mr. Foreign Minister, why have such a large number of Albanians once again tried to flee to Italy after the first big wave in March this year? The whole world saw the sad and dramatic scenes that took place in Bari on television.

[Kapllani] The main reason is the economic situation. Economic motives prompted so many thousands of people to leave their country and go to Italy. However, the economic situation, the economic crisis, unemployment and other related factors are not the only reason. Many of those who left Albania were not unemployed. Young people no longer have confidence. I believe that the crisis of confidence will continue and even get worse occasionally. I think that this is one of the reasons why so many young people want to leave the country. They are longing for a better life. There is nothing wrong with that. It is natural for people to long for a better life. We are trying to make it clear to them that this cannot be achieved overnight. We have embarked on the path of democracy. Fundamental democratic reforms are under way, and economic reforms continue. However, results are not immediately visible, and impatience prevails—particularly among the young.

[Buchalla] What can Albania do to combat the impatience of the young?

[Kapllani] Well, these young people hoped to discover paradise on the other side of the Adriatic. However, in my view, there are two additional aspects: On the one hand, Europe, the European democracies, must become aware of the impact of the loss of people, which might lead to Albania's bleeding to death. To prevent this, a coagulant is needed. The bleeding cannot be stopped by a few provisional bandages, such as "humanitarian aid." "Humanitarian aid" is only aspirin against the current headaches. Young people should be able to realize changes, a real change for the better in the economy. They should see new jobs, and they should know that they can get secure and well-paid jobs, and they should be able to find something to buy in the markets and on the shelves that are now empty. This would restore their trust and confidence. The Europeans should realize that substantive economic aid is required to consolidate democracy in Albania. Above all, investments are needed.

[Buchalla] Can you give a few examples?

[Kapllani] The investment of capital, for example, or the construction of a highway through Albania from the north to the south and from Durres to Skopje in Yugoslavia. The construction of a highway would be a large project that would help Albania and promote cooperation between Europe and the Near East. Thus, such an investment project would be profitable and useful for both sides—for Albania and for Europe. So, why should we not start this project? Let me give you another example: We have factories that have stopped production, because we do not have any raw materials. We need credits for the purchase of raw materials to create jobs. In addition, we need investments in the sphere of tourism, in the tourism infrastructure. Albania is allegedly a paradise for tourists. We share this view and want to turn Albania into a tourist paradise. We want to learn from the mistakes of others and avoid them.

[Buchalla] Have the conditions been created—legal conditions including guarantees for foreign investors in Albania?

[Kapllani] Yes, they have been created. The necessary laws have been adopted by parliament—laws on credits and the protection of creditors, and laws on investments and the protection of investors who are allowed to transfer the profits to other countries. I think they should not hesitate now. The only reason for foreign investors to hesitate might be that they see no real political stability, only social unrest and social problems. However, this is a vicious circle. The economic situation has led to social unrest. If the economic situation were better, there would be no social unrest.

[Buchalla] Do you expect a new wave of refugees to Italy or other countries unless the economic situation improves considerably in the near future?

[Kapllani] I do not know. However, the mere idea of a new wave of refugees makes me sick, I do not want to think about it. I am convinced that my people, particularly our young people, will finally realize that their place and their future are in Albania. If we show the world that we love this country, that we are making it more prosperous and stronger, we will increasingly be respected by the rest of Europe.

[Buchalla] We just spoke about the need for European help for Albania. Recently the United States reestablished diplomatic relations with Albania after a break of 50 years. Is the United States interested in helping the Albanians?

[Kapllani] In my talks with Americans—senators, congressmen, and several delegations—I noticed the following: They all expressed interest in successful reforms in Albania. However, reforms cannot be carried out against the backdrop of starvation and economic backwardness. Thus, there is a certain U.S. interest in the development of Albania's economy, and the United States has promised to help Albania with its economic development.

[Buchalla] Did you receive specific promises?

[Kapllani] Well, so far they have helped us draft concepts for economic management, for a market-oriented economy and privatization. All these things are new for us, and we need a great deal of help in this sphere. However, the United States has also promised generous supplies of foodstuffs, which are not only intended as a symbolic humanitarian aid.

[Buchalla] What about the Germans? Foreign Minister Genscher was here in the middle of June, immediately after the multiparty cabinet, in which the opposition Democratic Party is represented with seven out of 25 ministers, was sworn in. Genscher stated at the time that Germany is also interested Albania's stability and willing to help.

[Kapllani] I want to be honest. In specific terms, not much has happened so far, and not much has been achieved. However, I am convinced that we can do and achieve a great deal together with Germany. We hope that Germany, which is the locomotive of the European and even world economy, will find a form of cooperation with us that is helpful for Albania. I will travel to Germany in September or October, and Mr. Genscher told me that we will sign important economic and financial agreements during my visit to Bonn. These agreements are being drafted by experts now. I am confident that we will have good relations with Germany. As a matter of fact, Albanians have always had a great respect Germany, the German nation, and the German people. We believe that Germany will represent a strong pillar in the new European architecture, and we hope that Albania—a small and modest part in this new Europe of the future—will make progress on the basis of cooperation with Germany. A great deal will depend on Germany, which has great potential. However, we hope and believe that our hopes are not unfounded.

[Buchalla] Mr. Kapllani, thank you for the interview.

Ramiz Alia Interviewed On Refugees, SFRY Situation

LD1608214291 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1910 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] In recent weeks Albania has made sure it is on the front pages of the world press yet again. After decades of internal exile Albanians tried another spectacular method of escaping to Europe. Twenty-thousand Albanians headed for the sea for the third time to cross from the land of empty promises to the real land of promises. They were disappointed. Italy, the fifth strongest industrial country of the world, did not accept them. The authorities at home proved generous. They did not punish those who returned. Italy promised financial support to Albania. Some think this was exactly the aim of the escape which, as they say, was organized by the Albanian Government itself. "Panorama" asked Albanian President Ramiz Alia about this.

[Begin recording] [Alia in Albanian fading to Hungarian translation] The mass migration is an extraordinary national disaster for the whole country. Certain political forces try to use this development to their own advantage. Some even go as far as making the absurd statement that the conservative forces which are in power are urging the inhabitants to leave the country in order to impair the reputation of the opposing democratic forces. If we can speak of some kind of provocation at all I think it could only be Serbian provocation as it is in their interest only to take advantage of the difficult economic situation of the country and destabilize Albania.

[MTV] How do you see the relation of the internal problems of your neighbor, Yugoslavia, and the situation of Albania's internal policy?

[Alia] Well, undoubtedly everything that happens in Yugoslavia makes our own difficulties even more serious. We follow the events in Yugoslavia with extremely great concern. I believe our concern is understandable as the issue is not only that of a neighboring country but a country where a great number of Albanians live. In the southern republics of Yugoslavia this means some three million Albanians in all. So far, unfortunately, both those living in Kosovo and in Vojvodina have been excluded from the consultations. That is, both Albanians and Magyars living in Yugoslavia have been excluded. They dissolved the parliament in Kosovo, they dispersed the government, banned Albanian-language press and television. They sack workers, teachers, doctors from their jobs simply because they do not want to sign a statement that they consider themself part of Serbia. This is an obvious discrimination of nationality, and violates the constitution of the country. We are not asking for anything else, only that they invite Albanians to the negotiating table, too, so that they can decide on the future of Yugoslavia together with the other negotiating parties. [end recording]

Government, Groups React to Moscow Coup

Zhelev Denounces Ouster

AU1908131191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1237 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Statement by President Zhelyu Zhelev on 19 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] In principle I expected such developments. However, last night's events have surprised me, as well as many other people.

Many years ago in an article I ventured a description of the manner in which the transition from one system to another in the USSR would take place; that was more than 20 years ago.

Some three years ago, in the introduction of the Russian translation of my book "Fascism," I again confirmed my opinion and described the circumstances that could lead to such developments. Despite all this I hoped that such a situation could be avoided. Unfortunately, it was not to be.

We do not have sufficient information about developments to categorically assess the situation. However, on the basis of what we know, and the information supplied by the various international mass media, it appears that this is a classic military coup, with the support of the KGB and the Ministry of Defense and with the announcement on a six-month state of emergency. The information blackout imposed in the USSR, the uncertainty about Gorbachev's fate, and the movement of tanks and armored cars on Moscow's streets and in other Soviet cities testify to the fact that we are witnessing a military coup.

I think this will have very grave consequences for the USSR. This could open the road to endless and exceptionally bitter civil wars. In comparison, the situation in Yugoslavia will look like a child's play. The Russians have a very sad tradition of civil wars, and I fear that from now on the road will be open to wars between nations, between the various republics, within the republics between various ethnic groups, and a civil war between the rightist and leftist political forces. All this could have exceptionally grave consequences that will not be limited to the USSR alone, but will also categorically, albeit indirectly, affect Eastern Europe, Europe, and the entire world.

The predictions of Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, as well as my own predictions of many years ago, unfortunately have materialized. A military dictatorship exists in the USSR. This already is a fact, if the information we have is correct.

My personal attitude is categorically negative. I condemn such antidemocratic methods of action, because they could never lead to something positive, either for the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, or for the development of events in the modern world. Therefore, most categorically and energetically I condemn and reject these developments. I think that the issues must be resolved through political dialogue, talks, and negotiations, as well as political compromises. There is no other alternative, because the only other alternative is civil war and endless bloodshed that could deprive tens of thousands of people of their lives.

Zhelev Addresses Nation

AU1908184791 Sofia BTA in English 1723 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—The military coup in Moscow is a test for all democratic forces in Bulgaria, President Zhelyu Zhelev said in his address to the nation.

"I believe in the political wisdom of the Bulgarian people. I hope that the political forces and the trade unions in Bulgaria, as well as all state institutions, will show high responsibility in their actions. In this complicated political situation it is they who can guarantee the preservation of social peace and our still delicate democracy," the address of President Zhelyu Zhelev reads.

He believes that they should all support the restoration of the legitimate power in the USSR and the constitutionally elected president. The Bulgarian president solidarizes with Mr. Boris Yeltsin's statement.

The coup has come to prove once again that the Communist Party and its nomenklatura are incapable of effecting the transition from totalitarianism to democracy and a market economy, Dr. Zhelev stresses.

Government Declaration

AU1908202691 Sofia BTA in English 1942 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—A declaration adopted by the government reads:

The events in the USSR are received with concern in the Republic of Bulgaria. The declaration of a state of emergency is an act infringing upon the rights and freedoms of the citizens, regardless of its motives. The removal of President Mikhail Gorbachev, whose name is associated with restructuring in the USSR, with the radical changes in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War has given rise to deep concern.

These events will inevitably affect international relations, too.

Bulgaria, which has started on the road to democracy, hopes that the political and economic reforms in the USSR will be continued and that the USSR will observe the international obligations it has undertaken.

The Republic of Bulgaria is ready to promote its relations with the USSR on the basis of the principles of

equality and sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

Lukanov on Democratization

AU1908151491 Sofia BTA in English 1451 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], told BTA that he was concerned by the latest events in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Lukanov described the process of democratization in Bulgaria as "unconditionally irreversible" in response to a question by the BTA. The events in this country, "especially in the last two years," are of an irreversible, Bulgarian nature and the processes here should not be regarded as related to any other events no matter where they are taking place. I believe that the BSP categorically supports the democratization of this country which started with its decisive participation and which is continuing with its active participation.

I have not been authorized to speak on behalf of the entire party but as a Socialist I would like to give a positive answer, Mr. Lukanov said when asked whether the innovation in the BSP was irreversible. According to him this process should be continued.

BTA Reports

AU1908185091 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—The state of emergency in the Soviet Union today is the number one headline news in the programmes of Radio Sofia. The national radio follows closely developments in the USSR and reaction in Bulgaria which, on the whole, is concern across the political spectrum. Another point on which all interviews agree is that no such scenario will happen in Bulgaria. The earliest reaction came from the (right-wing) Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. A little later President Zhelyu Zhelev took strong exception to the coup. Foreign Minister Viktor Vulkov briefed the government on the situation in the Soviet Union. The cabinet is expected to come up with its own stand later. The Soviet ambassador has been received by the prime minister.

The leader of the Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party [BSP] Mr. Aleksandur Lilov said on national radio he was convinced that the democratic process is irreversible. Hard-line Communists alone (the Bulgarian Communist Party) welcomed the deposition of Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. The Social Democratic wing in the BSP condemned it as a "blow at the constitutional order and the reforms which has been designed and carried out by the most reactionary forces in Soviet Society." The wing believes that the situation in the Soviet Union spells a danger for Bulgaria, too. The Green Party (in the moderate wing of the Union of Democratic Forces) called on the Bulgarian Government to confirm that it only recognizes the legitimately elected president and government of the USSR.

Judging by reports filed by the BTA correspondents across the country, the coup in the Kremlin is universally disapproved in Bulgaria. People express concern over its possible repercussions Bulgaria owing to its economic dependence on Soviet raw-materials supplies. Fears are expressed that it will encourage the hard liners in the BSP.

Today the government held an emergency meeting, attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev, at which it was supposed to decide a major domestic issue: The miners strike which already involves 27,000 people. No information for the press was released on last night's cabinet meeting, which probably went late into the night.

Parliament, which also had a hard nut to crack, adjourned its sitting because the political forces failed to reach agreement on the Electoral Law.

The SDS-affiliated parties and organizations in the city of Plovdiv called on the opposition to unite. The SDS stands no chance at all to oust the Socialist Party from power if it does not go to the elections on a single ballot papers even with different lists, the address says.

The regional branch of the Fatherland Party of Labour in the city of Ruse suspended its activity as it disagrees with the decision of the party's national leadership to coalesce with the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] for the election campaign.

Private newspaper publishers today associated into a Bulgarian news media union. They aspire to establish an independent mass media foundation.

BSP's Lilov Reacts

AU1908151191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is in our studio. He will read out the BSP position on the events in Moscow.

[Lilov] Dear listeners, the position of the BSP on the events in the USSR at this early stage of their development contains the following basic points:

First: It is clear that the events that took place last night in the USSR are of exceptional importance. According to authoritative official information agencies, this has been understood not only by Bulgaria but by all small and large world states and various political and public circles. All, without exception, assume a wait-and-see position, in order to gather the necessary information and make their conclusions and assessments.

The BSP Supreme Council, too, does not possess the necessary information about the reasons, manner, and developments of the events. We will comprehensively assess the situation after we obtain sufficient information about the events in the USSR and the reaction of the world.

Second: The processes of renewal, democratization, and social market economy in the East European states and the Republic of Bulgaria are irreversible. They are vitally important for the countries, peoples, and socialist ideas.

Third: The BSP supports the continuation of the profound transformations of Soviet society, initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership.

Fourth: The BSP expresses its firm determination to continue and play a basic role in the processes of democratization and radical political and democratic reforms that have begun in Bulgaria. Nothing can stop the Bulgarian Socialists' efforts to continue along the road of the democratic renewal of Bulgaria and the BSP itself. We are deeply convinced that a democratic society in Bulgaria can be constructed only through democratic means.

Fifth: We appeal to the BSP members, supporters, and voters to preserve their calm, and most importantly, to most actively participate in the further development of the democratic processes in Bulgaria. For us the road is clear: This is the road of democratic socialism and constructing a democratic, free, and just society in Bulgaria.

Sixth: The BSP leadership stresses that, regardless of the changes in the leaderships of Bulgaria or the USSR, feelings between the Bulgarian and Russian peoples will not be affected. This has a fateful importance for our people.

The BSP follows with great attention the development of events in the USSR and reserves the right to make a more comprehensive assessment when additional information is obtained. This is what all solid states and political forces both in East and West Europe are doing.

[Announcer] Thank you, Mr. Lilov. Let me ask you a question that I suppose interests all our listeners. Is it possible to repeat the Soviet scenario in Bulgaria?

[Lilov] I think that this is absolutely impossible. Bulgaria will continue, with democratic means, along the road it selected—the road of parliamentary democracy.

[Announcer] Thank you very much.

BCP Expresses 'Joy'

AU1908171291 Sofia BTA in English 1628 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—The Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) received with great joy the overthrow of Mikhail Gorbachev, it is said in a declaration of the party. The document, addressed to the National Salvation Committee in Moscow, accuses Mikhail Gorbachev for the ruin not only of the Soviet Union but of all socialist states. Revisionism marched triumphantly from 1948 till today, destroying the fraternity and the unity of the communist workers' movement, the declaration points out.

The CC of the BCP (the party was founded by hardliners dissatisfied with the social democratization processes in the BSP, ex-BCP) believes that now all Communists in the world can heave a sigh of relief. The party leadership welcomes and fully supports the changes introduced by the National Salvation Committee in the USSR. It wishes the Soviet peoples all kinds of success, including in the restoration of the unity of the world socialist system.

SDS Condemns Action

AU1908104991 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1004 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Declaration by the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, read by the council's spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev in Sofia—live]

[Text] The National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] expresses its serious concern over the development of events in the Soviet Union.

The declaration of a state of emergency and the removal from power and arrest of the legally elected President Mikhail Gorbachev are only the first steps along a road that may push the vast multinational communist empire decades backwards, to the gloomy times of criminal Stalinism.

In Moscow, a strong KGB and other conservative forces are once again giving the orders. The activity of the political parties has also been banned. Opposition deputies have been arrested right in front of the Russian parliament. Columns of armored vehicles are rumbling along the Sadovoye Koltso ring road. The Chekists have expelled the journalists from the Ekho Moskvy [Echo of Moscow] democratic radio station. All this is being done precisely one day before the signing of the new Union treaty—a compromise reached with great difficulty—that also failed to fully grant the peoples their right of self-determination.

The state of emergency is declared over the entire territory of the former Soviet Union, disregarding the fact that a number of republics have reestablished their full sovereignty after conducting referendums among their citizens, in which the demand for independence was supported by the vast majority. However, where are those who have declared themselves to be a state emergency committee attempting to lead this vast multinational homeland of social communism that has collapsed throughout the world? World democratic public opinion is asking itself this question with extreme disquiet.

The SDS believes that the dead clutches of communism will not once again seize hold of the Russian people and the other enslaved peoples. We support the appeals of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and of Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, and the protests of the democrats from all the republics. We are following the events and will react in a timely way.

The SDS National Coordinating Council.

Socialist Figures on Events

AU1908165691 Sofia BTA in English 1602 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—How would you assess the latest developments in Moscow? How will they influence domestic political processes in Bulgaria? Is the renewal of the Socialist Party irreversible? The BTA today put these questions to socialist leaders today.

"I am seriously concerned because our and the overall development is a consequence of the development in the Soviet Union. This is a well-known fact," said Mrs. Nora Ananieva MP, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] floor leader.

At the same time Mrs. Ananieva expressed her conviction that Bulgaria's democratization and the renewal of the BSP are irreversible processes and, in this sense, the Soviet events can have only indirect impact here.

Prof. Petur-Emil Mitev MP, co-president of the Road to Europe Platform, thinks otherwise. According to him, the renewal process in the BSP is unfolding too slowly and tortuously. The party has not yet reached the point of no return in its reform, Mr. Mitev said.

The latest events place the Soviet Union at a crossroads. It was clear that Soviet perestroyka reached the limits coinciding with the bounds of administrative socialism. Going beyond those bounds proved very difficult and a dangerous backlash began meanwhile, he said.

According to Prof. Mitev, the Soviet events will have a direct and indirect impact on internal political processes in Bulgaria. "When I say indirect, I mean, among other things, the influence that will refract through the events in Yugoslavia. I am afraid that all this may be taken by the hard-line forces as a signal to take an even harder line," Mr. Mitev said and expressed the hope that democratization in Bulgaria is irreversible.

"I hope to God that democratization in Bulgaria is irreversible but I think that it isn't because we don't have stable democratic structures," said Mr. Dragomir Draganov MP, spokesman for the Europe Social Democratic Platform. Concerning the renewal of the BSP, he pointed out that "at the pace at which it is progressing, it is irreversible in so much as it will take some one hundred years."

Mr. Draganov characterized the latest events in Moscow as a "reversal to the state of affairs not six but at least thirty years ago." In his view, these events are very alarming and remind strongly of the "creeping counter-revolution which started after the Khrushchev era."

Mr. Yanaki Stoilov MP, leader of the Movement for Radical Reform of the BSP, is also concerned by the events in Moscow. It is difficult to say that the process of democratization in Bulgaria is irreversible. Undemocratic options cannot be ruled out because of the strong political confrontation and the deteriorating economic situation, Mr. Stoilov observed. The same factors can have a just as adverse effect on the renewal of the BSP, he said.

Opposition Leaders' Views

AU1908205091 Sofia BTA in English 1914 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—I think we have no reason to connect the events in Bulgaria with those in the Soviet Union, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) told the BTA. I am convinced that Bulgaria stands an excellent chance to solve its problems in a purely democratic way—by means of elections, if they are not frustrated.

I think that the overthrow of Gorbachev will have an extremely negative effect of international affairs as a whole, Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, said.

A military coup will not accelerate the changes in the Soviet Union, Mr. Petko Simeonov, leader of the Federation of Democracy Clubs, said. I hope that the events in the Soviet Union will have a sobering effect on many politicians. They should understand that the immediate change of the system has only one meaning, that it has only one meaning in the conditions in Eastern Europe, he added.

Asked whether the purpose and the nature of the forthcoming elections in Bulgaria has changed, Mr. Simeonov did not rule out the possibility of "a radical change in the meaning of all things we have planned for this country." This is quite probable but we will have to wait and see for a couple of days, he said.

Mr. Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party, described the events in the Soviet Union as an internal problem of that country. He expressed the opinion that these events will not influence the processes in Bulgaria and that "things cannot be reversed in Russia too," Mr. Drenchev believes.

This was not unexpected, though we did not expect it to happen this way, Mr. Ivan Glushkov, leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United), commented. I hope that this change will not affect democratization in Bulgaria. I personally believe that it is an irreversible process.

Mr. Aleksandur Karakachanov, leader of the Green Party, described the events in the Soviet Union as a coup of the neo-Stalinist forces. He recommended calm and the unification of all democratic forces in Bulgaria.

History is irreversible but it can be stopped and the clock can be put back for a certain period of time, Mr. Karakachanov said when asked whether the process of democratization in Bulgaria was irreversible.

According to Mr. Petur Kornazhev, member of the leadership of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Bulgaria is a sovereign state and it should continue its progress as a sovereign state. But it would be absurd to state that there will be no repercussions. We have economic ties with the Soviet Union, which should exist, Mr. Kornazhev added.

Students Demonstrate

AU1908205191 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 19 Aug 91

["'Will Bulgarians Be Next?' Students Ask"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—Two students organizations this evening condemned the military takeover in the Soviet Union. At a rally in front of the Soviet Embassy in Sofia members of the Federation of Independent Students Societies and of the National Students Confederation raised pointblank the question whether Bulgarians will be the next.

The students believe that the events in the USSR call into question the democratic changes in the Soviet Union and in the young democracies of Eastern Europe and that they endanger detente and peace on the planet.

The students called on the citizens of Bulgaria to resist the resurgence of obscurantism and the coming to power of the criminals who trampled on everything human in the course of more than forty years.

The rally was sparsely attended. The students believe one of the reasons is the failure of national radio to announce the protest action.

Representatives of the unregistered Students Union were also present.

A Soviet citizen, married to a Bulgarian, held a slogan reading "No to Dictatorship. Support Gorbachev's Reforms." Embassy employees on their way into and out of the building were greeted by chants of "Down With the Coup Organizers" and "Down With the KGB."

Another rally is expected to take place at the same place tomorrow evening. At it the students declaration will be handed to the Embassy.

Security for Government Members Tightened

AU1908200391 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—Today the Council of Ministers decided to tighten the security of the homes and families of ministers, MP's and other state officials, as well as of state institutions and of the national radio and television. This decision was dictated by the ever more frequent attempts of extremists to detonate not only social but also civil peace in this country.

The family of Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, was attacked last night. The attacker has been arrested. Several days ago the house of the minister of the interior was burgled.

Government, Miners' Position on Strike Issue

Government Reaction

AU1908131791 Sofia BTA in English 1059 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—The miners' strike is continuing. The Maritsa-Iztok 2 Thermal Power Plant is working at reduced power and according to the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, which declared the strike, it may stop functioning today. Mr. Zhelyazko Atanasov, chairman of the strikers' committee, says in "24 CHASA" that the power supply system in the country may be disrupted any moment now.

Two miners have descended into the Berievo Coal Mine together with their wives and declared a hunger strike. "We may lose control of the situation," Mr. Atanasov says in "24 CHASA."

The miners demand not only higher wages and better living conditions, they want to know what will be the future of mining, metallurgy and power engineering in Bulgaria.

Prof. Krustyo Petkov, leader of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions In Bulgaria, says in today's "TRUD" that he has never described the miners' strike as illegal. "We have common goals and tasks but we are against going on strike right now," Mr. Yordan Ruskov, chairman of the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions of Miners, Power Engineers and Geologists, says in today's "DEMOKRATSIYA." According to Mr. Ruskov, the strike will lead to devastation. Urging for a wage hike, Podkrepa is actually demanding that state subsidies be funnelled into mining at the expense of other industries.

Yesterday Mr. Atanasov accused the government and particularly Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, minister of industry, trade and services, of irresponsibility. According to Mr. Atanasov, the cabinet refused to negotiate with the miners during the weekend. Late last night the cabinet held an extraordinary meeting. A statement issued by the Government Press Centre says that "certain Podkrepa circles have disloyally and improperly broken the negotiations and are trying to bring out more and more people thus putting social peace at stake."

"TRUD" carries the address of eight moderate opposition organizations which appeal for the signing of a new political agreement to guarantee stability in the country and the holding of the elections. According to the eight, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leadership, the government and the Podkrepa Labour Confederation are speculating with the problems, accumulated in the last 45 years. In his interview with today's "TRUD," Prof.

Krustyo Petkov defines the reaction of the eight as "swift and serious." "elections are forthcoming and we won't forget that," says the leader of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions (KNSB). Today the Executive Council of the KNSB will hold an extraordinary meeting, which is to be followed by an important statement, says Prof. Petkov.

Prof. Petkov warns that the government has only ten days left and then it will be deprived of its last support, "gently and quietly, as there is no need for a strike."

According to Prof. Petkov, those to benefit from the strike are "the monarch-trade union Podkrepa," the Red economic nomenklatura, and all this with the cooperation of "the unavoidable Tomov" (meaning Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov).

These days the press writes almost directly that the leader of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, cherishes undisguised ambitions for power.

In "DUMA" Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov (from the BSP) reminds that Podkrepa is an observer in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. His article is headlined: "BSP Ministers Prefer Dialogue to Strikes."

Last night the leader of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, said on the national television that the general strike is intolerable, as it put off the elections. "Let negotiations with the government continue, let them search for a way out," he appealed.

In a radio interview this morning Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev (from the SDS) spoke for negotiations with the trade unions. "There is no cabinet crisis," he said. In his opinion, the matter should be solved "through negotiations or other means." The government is to hold a meeting this afternoon. Doctors in Sofia went on a one-hour warning strike.

Government Statement

AU2008072891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

["Text" of government declaration strike situation]

[Text] The following is the text of the governmental declaration on the strikes:

In recent days, tension in the country has intensified dangerously. It could lead to unforeseeable consequences. At the initiative of circles in the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, a miners' strike was organized and announced. It engulfed a significant part of the mines in the country. Warnings about upcoming strike activities in the field of health services and other social spheres have been issued. A danger emerged of the disruption of the pace of work in the power supply system, and subsequently, in other economic branches. The normal life of the citizens will also be affected.

According to the agreements of the tripartite commission on coordinating interests, the government conducted consultations with representatives of the Miners Trade Union, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. The government has understanding for the miners' problems, which have accumulated over the years. For the time being, a provisional financial assistance of 111 million leva has been allocated for companies active in the fields of mining and ore dressing. The government also agreed to take upon itself 650 million leva from the financial debt of the mines. This is more than 50 percent of their total debt.

Regardless of the fact that production has dropped by half, the wages and compensations are being paid in full. The government seeks a solution within the framework of the law, the economic reform, and the agreement on preserving social peace. It assumes the commitment that at this stage restructuring will not be connected with closing down mines. The government will only implement cuts that spring from the labor wages agreements, and not because of any other reasons.

Despite all this, the Strike Committee did not end the strike, but rather continued to expand strike action, constantly change the demands, and spread disinformation among the miners and society. All this shows that political goals and ambitions stand behind the goals of the strikers. They include directing social tension against the government, destabilizing the political and social situation in the country, and postponing the elections.

The government declares:

First. It will not succumb to pressure. The government will not accept unprincipled demands that do not correspond to the country's economic possibilities, such as the demand to increase wages three and four times. This will prompt a chain reaction in all other branches. The government no longer has the authority to negotiate about the labor wages. The striking workers can negotiate their wages only with the leaderships of their enterprises.

Second. The government will not condone strikes that take place outside the framework and procedures of the law or in spheres and branches where strikes are forbidden. The persons and organizations guilty of initiating illegal strike actions and sit-ins, and of destabilizing the situation in various branches and the economy as a whole will be publicly reprimanded. The legality of the strikes in each separate case is being checked.

Third. The government calls for a meeting of the political forces represented in the parliament, on 20 August. The meeting should analyze the sociopolitical situation in the country and ensure support for the government in preserving social peace and continuing the political and economic reform. This is a mandatory condition of normal conduct for the forthcoming elections and for guaranteeing law and order in the country.

Fourth. The government decided to fire those economic leaders who, instead of conducting constructive negotiations with the striking workers aimed at finding specific solutions, themselves took part in the strike.

Fifth. The government expresses deep condolences to the family of miner Stoyan Kostadinov Palatov from Koranovo Mine, who has died, and has instructed the investigating organs to establish the whole truth about this tragic event.

Sixth. The government will undertake decisive measures aimed at facilitating the work of those miners who do not wish to strike.

Seventh. The government declares that in accordance with the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes no wages will be paid to participants in illegal strikes. The participants in such strikes will be held legally responsible for any damage caused by their strike.

Eighth. The government appeals to the miners not to strike against themselves, their children, and the interest of their compatriots. The strike jeopardizes the achievements, made with so much suffering and deprivation, and is destroying Bulgaria's future.

The government declares that it will further be ready to conduct a political dialogue, and will strive to resolve the social conflicts that emerge. The permanent tripartite commission on coordinating interests is the natural forum for this. The government appeals to all miners and all those who cherish social peace not to succumb to manipulations. It is only through dialogue rather than through ultimatums that we can travel together along the most difficult part of the road toward our common goal—the establishment of a democratic and rule-of-law state, free society, and developed market economy.

27,000 on Strike

AU1908205391 Sofia BTA in English 1944 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—Twenty-seven thousand miners are on strike in Bulgaria. Tomorrow they will carry on their protest in the mines, it was announced at a press briefing today by the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, the amalgamation directly involved in the miners' strike. According to representatives of Podkrepa, 75 percent of health care employees in Bulgaria are on token strike and the Podkrepa-affiliated Trade Union of Communications Workers will declare a sit-down strike in front of the government's Communications and Informatics Committee tomorrow.

Power engineers have sent the BTA a declaration expressing support for the miners and warning of solidarity strike actions.

Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev described the strike as "immoral."

In a declaration circulated here the Presidium of the Bulgarian Socialist Party's Supreme Council expressed solidarity with the government's handling of the strike and accused Podkrepa of trying to "bring down the government by an organized strike blackmail" and to destabilize the situation in the country. "The forthcoming elections are the only democratic way to solve the problems facing the country," the declaration reads.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces, recently called on miners to call off their strike action.

Ludzhev Statement

AU1908202391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] The Council of Ministers has completed the work on the text of the declaration that reflects the government's position toward the strikes in the country.

Today at a meeting with reporters Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev summarized the results of the government's activities and position on the strikes by the miners and the health protection workers. Our reporter Bilyana Mikhaylova reports from the Council of Ministers:

[Mikhaylova] Good Evening. We are still awaiting the text of the declaration you mentioned. However, I can inform you about the statement made by Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev. He stated that the government will adhere to the established procedures and norms and the social peace agreement. He thinks that only negotiations within the tripartite commission could resolve the problems.

The government will review the issues and will decide only within the tripartite commission in accordance with that commission's statute, and only after the strikes end. We cannot negotiate while placed under pressure, Dimitur Ludzhev said. He also said that it must be categorically pointed out that the government will not adopt the policy of Lukanov's government, i.e., opening the big money purse and distributing money to all sides. We will not do this because it will hurt the nation's interests and because it hinders the attempts to stop inflation and strengthen the country's economic situation by preserving those basic protection measures that facilitate the stabilization of our economic life.

We cannot commit such treachery, Mr. Ludzhev said. According to him this indeed is treachery. We cannot award those people who now scare the nation and utilize their fears, suffering, and impatience by activating violent measures. Those are irresponsible and amoral people.

According to Mr. Ludzhev most of the actions initiated until now in the mines where there is a strike, are illegal and contradict the procedures adopted by all sides to the tripartite commission.

At the moment the legitimacy of the strikes, the manner in which they are organized, and the participation of economic leaders is being investigated. The government has decided to apply the strictest measures against the violation of the agreement on the part of the striking workers, and especially on the part of the economic leaders.

The deputy premier expressed the government's position in the following manner: We consider the demands for new minimal wages and direct negotiations with the government about those wages as a violation of the social peace agreement.

The cabinet has worked out methods for coping with the conflicts that have emerged. This includes the establishment of mixed commissions that will work out concepts on developing the branch, regulating the branch bargaining about labor wages, and resolving the issues of the enterprises' debts.

Podkrepa's reply to those proposal is expected. If Podkrepa does not want to adhere to the procedures incorporated in the social peace agreement, it should say so, Mr. Ludzhev said.

The government has invited Konstantin Trenchev, Podkrepa Labor Confederation president, as well as the leaders of the Miners Federation of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation Strike Committee, to a public debate. Professor Krustyu Petkov, leader of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, has also been invited to take part in the debate, which will be carried live by the Bulgarian Television on 20 August after the major evening newscast.

[Announcer] Thank you very much.

KNSB Aligns With BSDP

AU1808130591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 13 Aug 91 p 6

[Svetlomira Dimitrova report]

[Text] The presumption that the wave of strikes appearing at the moment will introduce the chaos that some people desire into the country prompted some of the leaders of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] to give a news briefing on 12 August. Diana Damyanova, deputy chairman of the KNSB, announced that "Podkrepa emissaries were touring the provinces" to incite the people to revolt. She concluded that the readiness to strike announced in the energy industry, communications, the mines, metallurgy, and health care is aimed at provoking a national strike.

However, this time the KNSB leadership will not lead such strike actions, Mrs. Damyanova declared. In her view, the trade unions' refusal to cooperate with the government will turn the latter into a caretaker government for all practical purposes. According to her, as the present parliament draws to an end, and when the functions of presidential power are castrated, the question arises who will form the new government.

"The KNSB has never been so stable," she declared, adding that the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in such a bad situation either. Furthermore, the party led by Dr. Dertliev has many features in common with the KNSB. For this reason, the KNSB will continue to hold talks with this "adequate political conductor," which the federation has been looking for until now.

Reportage on Reaction to Events in USSR

Havel Issues Statement

AU1908131291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1015 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Statement issued by President Vaclav Havel at a news conference held at Prague Castle on 19 August]

[Text] [Begin Havel recording] Early this morning, I was informed that President Gorbachev had been removed from office and that Vice President Yanayev had assumed leadership of the Soviet Union. A state of emergency was declared in some parts of the country. A State of Emergency Committee was established. At the moment, we do not have sufficient information to give us an overall picture of the situation. We are, however, in contact with our representative offices in the Soviet Union and with offices and heads of state in other countries.

In any case, the information now available to us suggests that a grave internal political coup is taking place in the Soviet Union. The Russian parliamentary spokesman has described the development as a state revolution. The latest developments in the Soviet Union cannot but remind us of the sad events of more than 20 years ago that took place during summer days similar to these. For this reason, we cannot take recent developments in the Soviet Union lightly or succumb to any illusions. There is no doubt that difficult times lie ahead for the people of the Soviet Union.

It is, however, impossible to turn back the wheel of history. We are also convinced that development on the road to democracy is irreversible in the Soviet Union and that democratic forces will in the end be triumphant. I am also convinced that we are in no immediate danger.

Our international position is strong and the process of radical political and economic transformation cannot be reversed. Today our country is an integral part of Europe, and its security is linked with Europe's security. From the long-term point of view, however, we cannot discount the possibility of certain complications in the sphere of international relations and international security. The governments and I personally are taking these complications into consideration, and we are prepared to resolve them in cooperation with our friends in Europe and in the world. During the past 18 months, we have established good foundations for such cooperation.

The most important basis for our security, however, must lie with us at home. We should reevaluate our domestic problems in light of the recent grave events and give some consideration to what is tolerable and what is not, what contributes to our certainty and security and what does not.

There is no cause for alarm. There would only be cause for alarm if we did not fully comprehend the significance and impact of these events. We should all give serious thought to them and draw conclusions from them. I am personally prepared, based on your trust, to do everything I am obliged to do. [end Havel recording]

[Presidential press spokesman Michael Zantovsky] Thank you. The president will now answer three questions.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, how were you informed of events in the Soviet Union; have you received any message from Vice President Yanayev, the head of state, and can you give us the text?

[Havel] I was informed during the night, along with my colleagues, from the mass media. Nevertheless, we have received no letter at the castle from Vice President Yanayev.

[Unidentified Czechoslovak television correspondent] Mr. President, are any extraordinary measures being taken into consideration in connection with the coup in the Soviet Union? What I mean is, has Czechoslovak security been tightened?

[Havel] It is quite probable that the State Defense Council will meet tomorrow. Today I would like to be in contact with various officials—including the minister of national defense, the Slovak prime minister, and others—and, of course, we also have to prepare for the eventuality that may arise, that is, an exodus of Ukrainians. [end recording]

Carnogursky Assesses Developments

LD1908155991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Ivan Kosec; place not given, on 19 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kosec] Mr. Prime Minister, without a long introduction, I would like to ask you to assess the situation in the Soviet Union, which causes concern and embarrassment.

[Carnogursky] My concern is caused by the fact that President Gorbachev was removed by an unconstitutional method. The use of unconstitutional methods is always very dangerous. I do not dare to assess the motives and reasons for his removal, as this is an internal affair of the Soviet Union, and I would not like to intervene in it. Nevertheless, I repeat that the use of unconstitutional methods is always dangerous.

[Kosec] A statement by the State Committee for the State of Emergency says that Mikhail Gorbachev was recalled because he is unable to perform his presidential duties. What do you think about it?

[Carnogursky] That statement is a bit inconsistent because, at first, health reasons were mentioned as the reason for recalling Mikhail Gorbachev from his post, and subsequently political reasons were given. A while

ago, we heard about Mr. Gorbachev's arrest, and this is yet another cause for our alarm.

[Kosec] I would say that the first reaction from all over the world seems to be careful. The similar fate of Nikita Khruschev is being mentioned, as is the possibility of a civil war. However, the issue being most discussed is whether this is a military coup or not.

[Carnogursky] The Army is probably involved and, after all, according to the latest reports, soldiers have already taken certain positions in Moscow. I consider the removal of Mikhail Gorbachev a serious matter, above all because it could be just the first step in further unconstitutional developments in the Soviet Union. Above all, a number of the union's republics can consider the removal of Mikhail Gorbachev from his post by an unconstitutional method to be the reason for them not to sign the Union treaty and declare their secession from the Soviet Union, etc, etc. This could consequently lead to a chain reaction within the state, and this reaction could really go as far as violence. And something like that would probably have an impact on us. [passage omitted]

[Kosec] The complexity of the situation is all the greater since, in a few days, we shall recall the anniversary of the infamous entry of the allied forces into Czechoslovakia. In this connection, the most varied and, I would say, not exactly flattering thoughts are springing to mind. Do you think that a real threat does exist in this respect?

[Carnogursky] Not in this respect, I think. It is unlikely that the Soviet Union would have the power to militarily interfere outside its borders. However, as far as I am familiar with the situation in the Soviet Union, I think that even a possible new leadership of the Soviet Union would not harbor plans of this kind.

[Kosec] What impact can the situation in the Soviet Union have on Czechoslovakia? I have in mind the influx of refugees. And what will the government do in connection with defending not only eastern Slovakia, but the whole of Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] The events in the Soviet Union could have a very direct impact on us in the area of a possible influx of refugees, if there is an outbreak of violence in the Soviet Union. Our economic relations would, of course, become even more complicated in this situation because Soviet enterprises will not have enough power to enter into serious economic relations with other partners.

[Kosec] And as far as the defense capability is concerned?

[Carnogursky] I think that Czechoslovakia's defense capability is not endangered in the meantime. It is obvious that Central and Eastern Europe is finding itself in a period of serious crisis and serious changes, while the order and the system that was in force for several decades is undergoing a change. We know from history that these changes are always accompanied by conflict between (?the old order) and the establishment of new power conditions in the given area. We must, therefore, focus all our efforts at not getting hurt in this crisis period because, if we are hurt, then we will be hurt for several decades to come.

In the meantime, the Slovak Government is not dramatizing the development in the Soviet Union and is not at all dramatizing the development in Slovakia or Czechoslovakia, because reasons for doing so do not exist. Until now, the Soviet Union has behaved as a partner that does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, and I am convinced that it will continue to observe this principle. This is why we, too, will take up the role of an observer of the events in the Soviet Union, an involved observer, because we wish that the development in the Soviet Union should take a violence-free and peaceful form and that constitutional conditions should be reinstated as soon as possible.

Pithart Comments on Crisis

LD1908233891 Prague CTK in English 2005 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, Aug 19 (CTK)—"All of us were waiting impatiently for Tuesday when the first signing of the Union treaty was to take place... and it turned out that the signing of the treaty was exactly what they wanted to prevent," Czech Premier Petr Pithart told CTK today in reaction to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's ouster early this morning.

"I think this ought to be a lesson for us," Pithart said. "Failure to reach agreements and arguments over the setup of the state... are the most convenient opportunities for those who want to reverse the whole process."

Pithart referred to the current situation as a "painful experience"—similar to the one undergone by Czechoslovakia in 1968—which "Soviet citizens and democratic leaders have to live through."

He expressed the hope that people in Czechoslovakia would distinguish in the coming weeks "what is truly important and what is irrelevant or can wait."

Rychetsky Expresses Concern

LD1908223491 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky conveyed Czechoslovakia's concern lest the developments in the Soviet Union upset the process of understanding and cooperation in Europe to Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin today.

Rychetsky said Czechoslovakia is anxious about whether the Soviet Union would adhere to all trade agreements, particularly those concerning oil and natural gas supplies to Czechoslovakia.

Rychetsky expressed doubt over whether the new Soviet leadership's line was constitutional, insofar as the Soviet constitution does not contain the term "State Committee for the State of Emergency". He also voiced concern over a possible exodus of Soviet nationals to Czechoslovakia.

Pankin said the current developments in the Soviet Union do not mean that the course of far-reaching reforms will be abandoned.

'Special Security Staff' Meets

LD1908200391 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] A special security staff has met at the Federal Ministry of Interior. Immediately after the session ended, (Ales Svoboda) asked Martin Fendrych, the Federal Ministry of Interior spokesman, for information.

[Svoboda] Mr. Fendrych, you had your first session today. What did you discuss?

[Fendrych] This is a special security staff set up by the Federal Ministry of Interior. Taking part in it are the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the CSFR Ministry of Defense, representatives of republican ministries, and a representative of the Ministry of Transport. The meeting was attended by Mr. Novotny, director of the Federal Intelligence Service.

The staff is evaluating the situation that has arisen after what appears to be a coup d'etat in the Soviet Union. It has issued instructions to carry out certain measures on our borders, such as to increase vigilance at the borders and to transfer certain border guards to specified areas. This concerns, in particular, our eastern border. It is also evaluating other incoming reports. The headquarters also put forward certain proposals that will be submitted by the Federal ministers of defense and interior at the State Defense Council session.

[(Svoboda)] When will this session be held?

[Fendrych] As I was told today, a session is due to be held tomorrow morning at 1000. Our staff ended its session at 1600. This staff will meet in permanent session. All members of the staff are on 24-hour call and must always be available.

[(Svoboda)] What would your answer be to the people's anxieties that thanks to the events in the Soviet Union our domestic political situation could deteriorate.

[Fendrych] Measures designed to counter these actions have already been put into effect.

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement

LD1908194491 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry received with alarm the report that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has been deposed from his post and that a state of emergency has been announced in some regions of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev initiated fundamental political and economic changes in this country and in its foreign policy that led to positive development in the global system of international affairs, in particular in Central and Eastern Europe. If favorable development in the world and in Europe is to continue, it is vital that the Soviet Union continues along the path of democratic changes on which it has embarked.

Disrespect for this reality and the danger of reversing the hitherto development evokes considerable anxieties in Czechoslovakia. In this connection, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the conviction that international undertakings will be consistently observed. With regard to the situation that has arisen, a special coordination group, which is following and evaluating the development of events in the Soviet Union, has been established at this ministry. Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier has cut short his vacation and is on his way home.

Dobrovsky: Army Prepared

LD1908152691 Prague CTK in English 1402 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky said today the Czechoslovak Army is ready to respond to any threat posed to the country. In an interview with Czechoslovak television, Dobrovsky discussed what he called two serious aspects of the latest developments in the Soviet Union which might affect Czechoslovakia. The first one is the possible threat of an influx of refugees from the Soviet Union. But Czechoslovakia worked out a contingency plan several months ago when the expected opening of Soviet borders gave rise to fears of heavy emigration from the Soviet Union, Dobrovsky said. The other serious aspect is the presence of 300,000 Soviet troops on the territory of the former East Germany. But there are also plans to contain any threat this might pose, he said. He added that official statements by Soviet leaders lead him to believe that the situation is serious primarily within the borders of the Soviet Union.

No Increase in Military Readiness

LD1908121791 Prague CTK in English 1008 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Army has not announced any increase in its state of military preparedness based on the removal of Mikhail Gorbachev as president of the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry told CTK today.

General Jan Cadek, secretary of the State Defence Council, told CTK that officials are considering calling a meeting of the council.

The Czechoslovak Government has not yet taken a position on the ousting of Mikhail Gorbachev, a government spokeswoman told CTK today.

The government is currently gathering information on the replacing of Gorbachev by a special state committee, the spokeswoman said.

The Civic Movement (OH) today issued a statement expressing concern about the replacement of Mikhail Gorbachev saying this may be an attempt to reverse the democratic developments in the USSR.

"Destabilisation in the USSR, which would result in the restoration of notorious great-power practices and suppression of human rights, would threaten the ideas of peace, understanding and democracy in the whole of Europe", the statement said.

The OH, one of the two parts into which the former Civic Movement (OH) split in February, called on the political parties and movements in Czechoslovakia to "quit unnecessary emotions and party conflicts, and to unite forces for the preservation of the integrity of the (Czechoslovak) state of free citizens".

ODA Supports Referendum Idea, Minister Kubat

AU1908174091 Prague CTK in English 1314 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 16 (CTK)—There are good reasons to believe that a referendum which would confirm the will of most Czechs and Slovaks to live in one state would be the beginning of the process of recovering relations between Czechs and Slovaks, Pavel Bratinka, chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), said at a press conference today.

The ODA, together with the Civic Movement (OH) and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), is one of three parties that were formed following the split of the Civic Forum.

Bratinka said political parties should support the coalition Public Against Violence (VPN) movement (the Slovak equivalent of the former Civic Forum) because it (the VPN) is a movement most familiar with Slovak problems. The ODA will back the VPN on the issue of a referendum, he said.

Czech Agriculture Minister Bohumil Kubat (ODA) said no cogent arguments that would cause him to resign had been presented. Kubat was referring to Czech Premier Petr Pithart's demand that he should resign as he has no concept in agriculture.

Kubat stressed the Agriculture Ministry has a concept which it has been implementing. According to him, cooperative farms used to be closely linked with party bodies in the past. "If these nomenclature cadres finally lose their power, it will be a definitive end to the socialist mafia in our countryside", Kubat stressed.

Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Vojtech Wagner said he had agreed with Pithart to hold talks with Kubat to seek a solution to the current situation.

Bratinka confirmed the ODA's unqualified support for Kubat.

Czech Privatization Minister Tomas Jezek said 15,418 shops and services worth 11,600 million crowns have been picked for small-scale privatization. So far, 7,092 of them, at [sentence incomplete as received]

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 16 August on page 2, under the headline "An Interim Privatization Total," carries a 100-word unattributed report on the small-scale privatization figures. According to the report, "a total of 7,092 units worth 5.8 billion korunas have been sold."]

Slovak Party Chairman on Political Situation

LD1608183891 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Interview with Slovak National Party Chairman Jozef Prokes by Ivan Kosec, in Bratislava on 16 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Kosec] We would like to have the Slovak National Party's assessment of the proposal of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia on the grand coalition, or the monochromatic nature of the Slovak Government, as you have called it.

[Prokes] We are very glad that it is no longer only the Slovak National Party but also other movements that arrived at the conclusion that a certain unification is necessary, particularly with regard to the adoption of the constitutions. I am convinced that unification, or a sort of alliance, and the coalition can be done only for a purpose, that is, only where our programs are identical. We cannot force our programs on each other, and therefore, we cannot form a firm coalition. This sort of alliance for a purpose could be done with regard to the adoption of the Constitution of the independent Slovak Republic.

[Kosec] The first reactions to the proposal of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia were negative. Do you think that there could be any change in this negative attitude in the future?

[Prokes] Every development is based on looking for new ways forward and not in rejecting new proposals a priori. Naturally, it is not enough only to declare a standpoint like this in the mass media. In my view, however, the more talks there are across the entire spectrum, that is, also between the government and the opposition, the earlier we shall find our way out from the situation in which we find ourselves today which—let us admit it openly—is in a deadlock.

[Kosec] Vladimir Meciar said that, if the Christian Democratic Movement will not accept the offered hand, he will appeal to the public and inform it about the situation in the government coalition. What can be expected?

[Prokes] Let us be taken by surprise.

[Kosec] What do you think about another statement of Mr. Meciar addressed to the Public Against Violence that he actually is giving power into the hands of the Christian Democratic Movement? This proposal looks similar.

[Prokes] In my view, Public Against Violence has lost power. Therefore, the question is whether I give something to somebody or whether I lose it.

[Kosec] The deadline of 28 October, when the Constitution is to be adopted, will obviously be not observed. A number of top political officials have admitted that. Don't you think that this might lead to the postponement of elections or that we might have early elections?

[Prokes] If somebody tried to postpone the elections, he would show that he has no interest whatsoever in democracy because this will create a precedent that might continue by first postponing the elections by two years, then by 20, and then it might be a lifetime. Early elections, however, are possible if we do not get out of this deadlock in which we find ourselves today. The majority of the resolutions of the Slovak National Council are adopted by a majority of one or two votes. This means that it is rather an unstable solution. If we are unable to find the way out by political talks of all the political subjects that form the Slovak National Council at the moment, then the only solution will be the elections. The longer it takes, the worse Slovakia's situation will be, and sometimes it seems to me that there are forces in this country that bring this on deliberately.

[Kosec] The Croatian minister of foreign affairs expressed his regret in Vienna last week that Czechoslovakia has not so far recognized Slovenia and Croatia.

[Prokes] The problem is that the government of the CSFR worries that then the situation in our country would be uncontrollable. The truth, however, is that although the situation in the CSFR is influenced by the events in Yugoslavia, the essence of the problem has nothing to do with Yugoslavia, and this problem must be solved.

[Kosec] So far you have not been given an answer to the question of what is the advantage of joint state. When do you think you will be given this answer?

[Prokes] I have great doubts whether anybody will be able to answer this question because, if such an answer does exist, then it can be gained only by a practical experience that we do not have. This can be gained only by distancing ourselves from each other. If we cooperate as two subjects of international law, as two independent republics, then concrete advantages of this cooperation might be shown. However, I personally think that this mutual advantage of cooperation will never balance out the negative features that the joint state brings. These negative features are that the smaller of the nations is losing a direct impulse for its further development, that is, a duty to make decisions for itself.

[Kosec] This week you introduced yourself for the third time in Prague. How were you received by Czech journalists?

[Prokes] We shall continue with these conferences because we are finding a path to each other.

[Kosec] The last question: During your vacation, you met at Papiernicky Weiss with Mr. Petrik and other politicians, and allegedly you played football together. Who was the best player?

[Prokes] Apparently, my eight-year-old son.

Meciar Offers Support for KDH Government

AU1608135191 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 14 Aug 91

[Text] Bratislava Aug 14 (CTK)— The chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Vladimir Meciar, today told a press conference that the creation of a new "grand coalition" between the HZDS and the ruling Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) is a "realistic possibility."

Meciar said such a coalition would help adopt a new Slovak Constitution and solve the issue of Czechoslovakia's future setup.

Meciar said the HZDS is still awaiting the KDH's reaction to the HZDS proposal. "If it is positive we are willing to support the KDH and even enable it to create a government made up exclusively of Christian Democrats," Meciar said.

A Federal Assembly (Parliament) deputy for the HZDS, Roman Zelenay, said on the subject of the holding of a referendum on Czechoslovakia's future constitutional setup that it would be incorrect to raise the issue in the parliament without prior public discussion.

Zelenay said the HZDS rejects as unacceptable for the Slovaks the proposal by the Civic Movement (OH) to abolish the majority principle in the parliament. These days a number of deputies are representing their own instead of their voters' interests, he added.

The chairman of the HZDS Council, Rudolf Filkus, said the HZDS is opposed to mutual accusations and recriminations. He called for a businesslike discussion between political forces as a prerequisite for reaching a political consensus on the issue of the constitutional setup of the state.

Filkus was reacting to a recent charge by Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, that Meciar and his supporters "became frightened of the economic reform and therefore quit the government intentionally" last April.

Filkus termed the measures taken by the current Slovak Government to revive the economy "positive."

[Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 15 August on pages 1 and 2 carries a 600-word Ivan Rajecky report on the HZDS briefing. Meciar is quoted as having told journalists that "more and more people and groups are applying for membership in the HZDS, including functionaries from the Democratic Party [DS]." In this connection Meciar offered membership in the HZDS to Olga Keltosova, deputy chairwoman of the Slovak National Council for the DS, who is involved in a dispute with the current DS leadership.]

KSCM Leader on Soviet Visit; Klaus Criticized

AU1608153891 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 13 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 13 (CTK)—The chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), Jiri Svoboda, today characterized the Soviet Union's policy towards its former satellites in Eastern Europe as one of "independence and mutually beneficial partnership".

Svoboda was speaking at a press conference about his visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of this month, during which he met with representatives of the Soviet and Russian Communist Parties, and of the new movement for democratic reforms founded by former aides to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Svoboda said his discussion partners agreed on a vision of Europe's future setup in which social aspects would play an important role.

He described the draft ideological platform of the Soviet Communist Party as a "significant step forward". (The draft, published August 8, is a watered-down version of Gorbachev's more radical document. The new draft calls the aim of the party "humane, democratic socialism".)

On the subject of the prepared Czechoslovak-German treaty, Svoboda rejected the demand by the head of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, Franz Neubauer, that its provisions should include the return of confiscated Sudeten German property. The German Government is under pressure by the voters, especially in Bavaria, Svoboda said.

According to the KSCM, party membership is about 430,000. Recent public opinion polls showed its support to range around 10-11 percent of the population in the Czech Republic, ranking second behind the conservative Civic Democratic Party (ODS), led by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 14 August on page 12, under the headline "A Red and Black Point of View," carries a 100-word "(mc)"-signed report on the same news conference. The report quotes KSCM Deputy Miroslav Ransdorf who made the following remark: "I am afraid that Mr. Klaus is an ideological fanatic and that there is no more significant difference between him and Mr. Sladek [chairman of the extreme right-wing Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia] because both offer simple solutions."]

Responses to Events in the USSR Reported

Prime Minister Interviewed

LD1908205591 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Studio interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by unidentified reporter; from the "Newsreel" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Our studio guest is Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Good evening. Thank you for coming. Obviously, people are very interested in your opinion and in the government's stance. First, perhaps we can speak about the kind of foreign political consultations that have taken place since this morning. We know from MTI that you have spoken to Chancellor Kohl on the phone.

[Antall] Well, since this morning—obviously, besides the installation of officials and other events—the government is primarily dealing with this issue. The National Security Cabinet also convened this morning, and we examined the current situation. In the course of discussions, we have gotten in touch with neighboring countries, and we are in touch with certain neighboring countries; while on the other hand, I personally talked to Chancellor Kohl on the phone, who informed me about his talk with President Bush, British Prime Minister Major, and President Mitterrand, and effectively informed me about the joint Western stance that is evolving on these issues. Naturally, all those anxieties in the current situation, that are observable from every side, have been voiced.

The Hungarian stance cannot be other than the stance of the European or North American states, or that of all the democracies of the world: that all political transformation can take place by constitutional, democratic means and that, naturally, whatever will happen, Gorbachev's life work—and President Gorbachev's role was an outstanding one in the central and East European transformation—and this must also be expressed in these difficult hours too.

I think Hungary, in accordance with its size, as a country with a mutual border, is able to carry out a responsible foreign policy, and must carry out this responsible foreign policy on the basis of all those principles that—based on the Paris Charter—are obligatory to all countries. I think it is good to recall that Hungary, as a sovereign republic, is no longer a member of the Warsaw Pact, nor CEMA, and that the Soviet troops have left Hungary. I think it is extraordinarily important—and the thing about which at the time I was not necessarily happy about—that it was not President Gorbachev who signed the document about the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, but Vice President Yanayev. I note that now with frank joy because it means that it is Yanayev's signature that is on the document dissolving the Warsaw Pact. Thus, he cannot think differently about this document than Gorbachev or we might have.

[Reporter] So you had the opportunity to meet Yanayev as well, just as you had met Gorbachev on several occasions.

Looking at the economic aspects of the events, what effects could they have on our economy?

[Antall] It is certain that they cannot have good effects. We know what they meant at the stock markets of the world, what these can mean economically. The financial world is extremely sensitive. It reacts immediately to any crisis.

In this region, stability is extremely important; it is very important that any problems in the region should not appear alarming. So, naturally, we must not forget the events in Yugoslavia, even now—and I would like to stress that the question of Yugoslavia and the internal crisis in Yugoslavia cannot be neglected even now, when a crisis has developed in a larger country. This crisis we had, until now, regarded to some extent as a model, and we felt it important earlier that the world should examine this problem as a model. Now the events have occurred in a larger country, events that can endanger the stability of the region and give grounds for concern.

From the economic point of view, it is important that Hungary should, if possible, continue economic relations with the Soviet Union under any circumstances. There are close links between economics and politics, but for economic cooperation it is not always necessary to have political, and even less so, ideological or moral agreements. So we take the position that we wish to maintain economic links, but we have some serious concerns over what kind of economic partner a destabilized Soviet Union can be, burdened with manifestations of civil war, demonstrations, and other conflicts.

[Reporter] And finally, regarding internal political consultations, you not long ago met the heads of the legislative parties. Were you successful in bringing about the national unity that would be so necessary at such times, in such situations?

[Antall] I believe that the leaders of the six legislative parties, who have just met, and whom I invited to the Assembly building, were in full unity regarding an analysis of the situation. They took a completely identical position regarding the principled basis from which we should approach what has happened, and we were in full agreement regarding all of this. Obviously, we were also fully agreed that there are issues concerning constitutional rights, human rights, minority rights, that must be judged the same in all of the Hungarian legislative parties because, if we were not to judge these issues identically, we would find ourselves at variance with Hungarian constitutionality. So we must profess this, and we do profess this, and the legislative parties were in agreement regarding this.

Regarding foreign policy agreement, obviously there might be differences of emphasis between the individual parties, but regarding the issue of how we view the

situation that has developed in the Soviet Union, how we view the sources of danger, and what we would view with greater pleasure, I believe our positions are identical or very close to one another. I trust that in Hungarian foreign policy, in spite of all the debates and differences of view, there cannot be divergent positions on basic issues, since foreign policy is a vital issue, it is a vital issue of the nation, and there must also be agreement on what constitutes the country's place in Europe and in this security system.

I think that now and in the coming days we must be in contact with one another, and we must take a joint stance, if necessary.

[Reporter] Thank you very much for this conversation.

Defense Ministry Spokesman Comments

LD2008011491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[From the "Late Evening Chronicle" program]

[Excerpt] Talking to Julia Torda and commenting on the events in the Soviet Union, Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defense, said that in the Hungarian Army special measures can only be introduced by decision of the Assembly.

[Begin recording] [Torda] Does the Hungarian Army have any duties in this extraordinary situation?

[Keleti] The internal events in the Soviet Union, the power struggle in the Soviet Union that is at present being fought in the shadow of the tanks, present no threat to the security of the Hungarian Republic. So the Hungarian Army, which has the duty to defend this country against possible attacks from outside, has no such duties in the present situation that would justify the introduction of any military orders or special measures.

[Torda] Does the Defense Ministry have any views, or alternatives, for a situation in which a system were established in the Soviet Union with hostile intentions toward us?

[Keleti] The Defense Ministry is closely following the activities of the Soviet Army, and only in the case of a constitutionally based, suitable legislative decision could a situation arise in which the Hungarian Army would introduce some kind of military orders.

Today, the new emergency committee set up in the Soviet Union declared that international treaties signed earlier will be observed without reservations. This, I am convinced, applies partly to the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and partly to the Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental agreement signed in Moscow on 10 March last year concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungarian territory. There are no Soviet soldiers on Hungarian soil today, and I am convinced there will not be.

[Torda] Is it important for us that the Soviet Union should keep to the international treaties and the treaties made with us because military cooperation between the two countries was formerly so close that in fact they know all our military data?

[Keleti] This is true, indeed; however, that is now a thing of the past. During the last year and a half, we did not take part in any military exercises in which the troops of any members of the Warsaw Treaty participated, so I can safely say that the Hungarian Army today has some secrets that guarantee the safety of the country and that are not known to unauthorized parties.

[Torda] Today again a new round of talks on the Hungarian-Soviet financial settlement was held. How did Admiral Grishin react to the changes that took place in the Soviet Union today ?

[Keleti] Admiral Grishin did not indicate in any way whatsoever that the authorization with which he came to Budapest might have changed. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Party Leaders' Meeting Held

LD1908225691 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—Under the proposal of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, the representatives of Hungary's six parliamentary parties held a consultation on the Soviet situation in Budapest on Monday afternoon.

The consultation, which lasted for almost one and a half hours, was attended by Imre Konya, head of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Ivan Peto, head of the parliamentary group of the Alliance of Free Democrats, Jozsef Torgyan, president of the Independent Smallholders' Party, Tibor Fuzessy, head of the parliamentary group of the Christian Democratic People's Party, Zoltan Gal, head of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and Istvan Hegedus, an mp of the Federation of Young Democrats and deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament.

After the consultation, Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo read out a brief statement for the press. Accordingly, the prime minister and the ministers in charge gave briefs on the information available for them on the Soviet events. In reply to questions, the spokesman added that the ministers concerned included Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky, Minister of Home Affairs Peter Boross, and Defence Minister Lajos Fur.

The six parliamentary parties agreed that the stability of the sovereign Republic of Hungary was not affected by the events in the Soviet Union, the spokesman said. They agreed that Hungary should make a very restrained and moderate approach to the affair. The participants also agreed that they would hold continuous consultations on the latest events.

In reply to a question by MTI, Balazs Laszlo said that the participants had not discussed on any operative measure. Answering another question by the Hungarian radio, the spokesman said that the Hungarian Government had not yet received any official information from the Soviet Government.

[Budapest MTI in English at 1746 GMT on 19 August adds the following:

"Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—The Soviet Foreign Ministry informed its Hungarian partners on Monday morning that the Soviet authorities had not taken any new measure concerning the foreigners, entry to, and stay and movement in, the Soviet Union, Janos Herman, the spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, told MTI."]

Party Leader Comments Noted

LD1908163591 Budapest MTI in English 1512 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 19 (MTI)—The Hungarian general public is following the events taking place in the Soviet Union with keen attention. The Hungarian television is broadcasting special news bulletins, and some dailies, for instance "MAGYAR HIRLAP" and "NEPSZABADSAG", are to publish special issues in the evening.

The comments of some party leaders are printed below:

"What is happening in the Soviet Union may entail grave dangers for the world at large and hinder the peaceful settlement of local crises, such as that in Yugoslavia," Janos Kis, president of the Alliance of Free Democrats, told MTI.

"The latest developments aimed at bringiig the democratic processes to a halt in the Soviet Union not only threaten that country with civil war but even encourage the conservative, neo-communist forces in Central Europe," Istvan Egedus, an MP [member of parliament] of the Federation of Young Democrats, told MTI.

"I rule out the possibility that the Soviet events will have a military impact on Hungary. Nor is it conceivable that foreign troops be stationed in Hungary again," Jozsef Torgyan, president of the Independent Smallholders, Party, told MTI.

"The removal of the iron curtain and the reunification of Germany created an irreversible situation in Europe. It is inconceivable for the Soviet Union to extend its power towards Eastern Europe. The Soviet events, however, will have an impact on Hungarian-Soviet economic relations: they are likely to become looser," Laszlo Varga, deputy president of the Christian Democratic People's Party, told MTI.

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' party wishes that the Soviet people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should preserve socialism and defend the united Soviet Union. The workers' party expresses its solidarity with the Soviet communists in this struggle," Gyula Thurmer, HSWP president, said at a rally in Mako, southern Hungary, on Monday.

Bush Assures Support

LD2008095191 Budapest MTI in English 0757 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—George Bush, President of the United States of America, telephoned Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on August 20, at a few minutes past midnight, local time.

In the course of the 30-minute discussion, the sides exchanged views on the serious situation that has come about in the Soviet Union. President Bush ensured the Hungarian prime minister that the United States supports Hungary and the other countries of the region, and will not desert them.

President Bush said that the United States would directly inform the Hungarian prime minister about all events, reports and steps which also concern Hungary.

Bush and Antall agreed that in the current, critical situation, a solution can only be found with constitutional means, and by refraining from the use of violence. Both sides held support for Boris Yeltsin and the other, democratically elected leaders to be extremely important. They specially discussed the situation of the Baltic republics.

President Bush and Prime Minister Antall also discussed the Yugoslav crisis. They agreed that the Yugoslav situation should continue to receive great attention, it cannot be pressed to the background by the events in the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, President Bush said he wishes to remain in close contact with the Hungarian prime minister in connection with the Soviet events.

Borders Remain 'Calm'

LD2008121991 Budapest MTI in English 0845 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 20 (MTI)—'There was relative calm along the state borders of the Republic of Hungary during the night of Monday to Tuesday. There were no extraordinary events on the Hungarian-Soviet border, no border violators arrived on the area of Hungary,' said Lieutenant-Colonel Janos Zuoek, spokesman of the Hungarian Border Guards, summing up the experiences of the last 12 hours.

The majority of the Soviet pilgrims who arrived for the programmes of Pope John Paul II in Mariapocs, Nyiregyhaza and Debrecen returned to the Soviet Union on Sunday evening, while the others left Hungary through the temporary international border crossing points at Barabas, Tiszabecs and Beregsurany, and the permanent

international border crossing at Zahony, which were open until 10 p.m. on Monday.

All border crossing stations of the Republic of Hungary were passable within 30 minutes on Tuesday morning.

Soviet Border Situation 'Normal'

LD1908193191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1640 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The national command of the Border Guard at the moment has not introduced any extraordinary measures. Spokesman Janos Zubek is on the line.

The chairman of the committee that seized power, Yanayev, in the past hours said it was necessary to reinforce the Soviet Union's borders. Has the Hungarian Border Guard noticed that the border might have been reinforced on the Soviet side?

[Zubek] The Hungarian Border Guard has not noticed any change on either the border or at the border-crossing point. There is no change whatsoever. The customary, normal border situation can be experienced at the Hungarian-Soviet border. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What have you experienced? Are Western tourists not yet fleeing back to their own countries because there is a civil war situation in our neighborhood?

[Zubek] We have not run across any such paranoia.

[Announcer] It has not been necessary for the border guard to take any extraordinary measures, and at the moment you are not preparing for this?

[Zubek] We have not had to take any measures. We are prepared—we have plans that were completed not now, but many months ago—for cases in which we really sensed something on the other side of the Soviet border that posed some sort of danger from the professional viewpoint of guarding the border. There is absolute calm. We are operating three temporary border-crossing points until 2000, in connection with the Pope's visit yesterday. A large majority of Soviet believers have already gone home; the others still have an opportunity to return home via four border-crossing points—a few have remained here. We have no reason to be alarmed, at least from the professional viewpoint of guarding the border. This political crisis has had no impact on the Hungarian border.

Defense, Foreign Ministry Officials on SFRY

AU1908162291 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 14 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Deputy Defense State Secretary Rudolf Joo and Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman by Andrej Kiss and Decsi; place and date not given: "The Situation in Yugoslavia Does Not Yet Require Emergency Measures—The Watchful Eyes of the Defense and Foreign Ministries"]

[Text] The critical situation that has emerged in our immediate vicinity in Yugoslavia and the possibility of an unlimited civil war continue to be among the main issues of the world press. The often contradictory news and rumors coming from beyond our southern borders are naturally dividing the observers and the politicians. In addition to often alarming and contradictory international evaluations, domestic reactions are also important. We asked Rudolf Joo and Janos Herman about the Hungarian position regarding Yugoslavia:

[NEPSZAVA] What information does the Hungarian Defense Ministry have about the events in Yugoslavia? In your view, could this escalate into a civil war?

[Joo] Our ministry has its own analysts who are continuously following the events in Yugoslavia. I would like to point out that these are observers and analysts, and not fortune-tellers. Besides, Yugoslavia today is a country in Europe about which it is difficult to predict things. Unfortunately, the conflicts have become so deep in Yugoslavia that anything can happen. A general civil war and the geographical spreading of this civil war cannot be excluded either. However, this does not mean that all this must necessarily take place. In my opinion, nobody in Yugoslavia or elsewhere has any information on the basis of which one could precisely forecast events.

[NEPSZAVA] Have you heard about the opinions, mostly coming from Serbian sources, according to which Hungary would also be affected if the civil war escalated in Yugoslavia?

[Joo] I personally have not heard such views, but I can say that such a thing cannot be declared with certainty. This time, too, all I can do is to confirm the Hungarian intention, namely that we want to stay out of this conflict. This means two things: On the one hand, we do not interfere in the events, either politically or in any other way. On the other hand, this means a determination on the part of Hungary to defend its territory, its constitutional order, and sovereignty from any threats that might emerge from such a conflict. Besides, this is not a new element, but an integral part of the Hungarian defense policy, irrespective of the recent events in Yugoslavia.

[NEPSZAVA] You said we wanted to stay out of this conflict, but we have to prepare for that. Has the Defense Ministry set up a crisis staff?

[Joo] As I already said, we are following the events with great attention. There are certain working conditions, including various bodies for such a watch.

[NEPSZAVA] In other words, you do have a crisis staff.

[Joo] We have experts who know Yugoslavia well, and we have experts who deal with the Central and Eastern

European region. These experts have been working more lately, and they rarely leave for a vacation.

[NEPSZAVA] Is that all that has specially affected your ministry's activity?

[Joo] The events in Yugoslavia have not changed our activity considerably.

[NEPSZAVA] Do you have a crisis plan for the possibility of a full-scale civil war?

[Joo] We have a general defense plan for the defense of the Hungarian Republic. This plan has elements and special measures that become valid in the case of a threat. According to both the military and political leadership, the present situation along our southern border does not yet justify such special measures.

[NEPSZAVA] In your view, what direction are the events in Yugoslavia taking: the spreading of the conflict or a peaceful solution?

[Joo] It is enough for the people to follow the news provided by the mass media to have a mixed picture. There are diplomatic efforts, steps toward political rapprochement, compromise-seeking intentions, as well as serious deterioration and uncontrollable events. One feels that everyone has this duality, and we do not know what will happen to Yugoslavia. We only hope, and this is a general European hope, that Yugoslavia will finally find the peaceful way out of this crisis, the way of negotiations. Unfortunately, this is nothing more than a hope.

[NEPSZAVA] Many people predict that the Yugoslav crisis will not stop at the Yugoslav borders. Is the Foreign Ministry also that pessimistic about the situation?

[Herman] At the moment, the situation is so complex in Yugoslavia that it would be difficult to engage in predictions. I would rather point out what it is that Hungary wants. We are interested in a peaceful solution of the crisis by means of negotiations. In my opinion, this possibility continues to exist. However, the condition for this is that all the domestic forces in Yugoslavia should see the need for such a solution because they are the ones who must start negotiations and make decisions.

We have repeatedly declared that Hungary opposes the solution of internal conflicts by force and by means of arms. We also oppose the use of force by anyone to achieve a better political position for future negotiations. We are for a negotiated solution, one that settles the crisis by including all the interested parties in the negotiations.

[NEPSZAVA] Has your ministry set up a crisis staff?

[Herman] Many of our departments are now dealing with Yugoslavia. This derives from the nature of our apparatus, because each main department works independently and, if a common issue emerges, these departments coordinate their activities. At a time like this, when the situation keeps changing from hour to hour and from day to day, this coordination is carried out quickly and operatively. We have taken the necessary measures, but I would not call it a crisis staff or a crisis plan.

Industry Ministry Official on Industrial Decline

AU1908152891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Aug 91 p 10

[Interview with Balazs Botos, deputy state secretary at the Hungarian Ministry of Industry and Trade, by Judit Kozma; place and date not given: "We Do Not Simply Stand By And Watch This Decline"]

[Excerpts] Statistics on the performance of Hungarian industry during the first half of 1991 show that it has hit a low point. However, the Ministry of Industry and Trade can do hardly anything to help industry fight this crisis. Balazs Botos told us: "We have no right to decide." We interviewed Botos on industry's current situation and on possible solutions.

[Kozma] The significant decline in our production has been going on for quite a long time now. When do you think a change might come about?

[Botos] I certainly do not think that a change will come about in the short term. Our decline in production will definitely continue over the course of this year. We think that this decline might be stopped by the middle of next year. After that, a slow recovery might begin, in a selective way, of course. The real question is whether we will survive during this interim year. I think we will survive, and I do not just say that because of some obligatory governmental optimism, but because of my familiarity with background information. Furthermore, I hope that this decline in production—which has some very serious consequences—will have the positive effect of forcing through a necessary change of structure. There are signs of this already today: Even though the closure of aluminum furnaces and the decline in steel production are rather painful for the people involved, they definitely fit into an industrial policy concept that aims for a healthy structural change in industry. We try to further this aim: We do not simply stand by and watch this decline. Although not entirely visible yet, we have implemented a series of measures, so I dare say that next year, a healthy trend will start to affect our industry. [passage omitted]

[Kozma] Which resources could we use to improve the functioning of our economy?

[Botos] We have made some proposals in this area. For example, we are convinced that some of the income from privatization should be reinvested in the economy. Indeed, if we thereby managed to improve the functioning of the economy, that would also be preferable in the long term from the point of view of our public debt.

Moreover, we have significant outstanding debts, and these should be included in the financing of deliveries. We try to take measures to further all these aims, but enterprises often complain that we do not sufficiently represent industry's interests. I think it is important for enterprises, professional associations, the Chamber [of Commerce], and other organizations to see the ministry as a partner, and not as a body that has conflicting interests.

[Kozma] Last year, industry suffered from a decline in production, but it also achieved considerable results in exports and in the change of markets. However, this year, we seem to detect signs of exhaustion. Is that so?

[Botos] I would not call it exhaustion; last year was a fairly good year, and we cannot repeat the same results this year. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Response to Gorbachev Dismissal

Government Issues Statement

LD1908193691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Statement by government spokesman Andrzej Zarembski]

[Text] The Polish Government is monitoring the events taking place in the Soviet Union very closely. We are treating the situation following the introduction of martial law in that state as serious, and we are studying the consequences it could have for Poland. We hold the deep conviction that the course of history cannot be reversed by force. We are reinforced in this view by Poland's experience of martial law and the basic idea of Solidarity, based on the solution of even the most difficult problems through dialogue and not by force. In view of the situation that has arisen, the Polish Government, in strict contact with the President and constitutional bodies of our state, will conduct a policy aimed at guaranteeing the security of our state. This is served by consultations conducted with leaders of other countries. We will react in accordance with the development of the situation, guided by the principle of respect for the sovereignty of other states. In these particularly dramatic circumstances, when we do not possess complete information on the scale and direction of events in the Soviet Union, the Polish Government's determination to consistently implement the program of economic and political reforms in our country is strengthened.

[Announcer] Government spokesman Andrzej Zarembski stated that 112 Soviet citizens had now asked for the right to permanent residence in Poland, which, in his opinion, indicated that we should not expect a wave of refugees from the East. According to the most recent data, approximately 115,000 Soviet citizens altogether were staying in Poland. Andrzej Zarembski said that the police, army, and other bodies whose task it was to maintain the security of our country were working with intensified effort, but did not wish to specify what this meant.

Government Monitoring Situation

LD1908233291 Warsaw PAP in English 1959 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—"The Polish Government follows with due attention developments in the Soviet Union. We treat the situation which has emerged after the introduction of the state of emergency in that state as serious and we analyse its possible outcome for Poland," reads a statement made by the Polish Government in connection with the situation in the Soviet Union on Monday.

"We are deeply convinced that history cannot be turned back by force, this conviction of ours being consolidated by the Polish experience of martial law and the fundamental idea of Solidarity consisting in solving even the most difficult problems by means of dialogue and not violence," says the statement made available to newsmen by the Polish Government spokesman.

"In connection with the existing situation the Polish Government, in close contact with the president and the constitutional bodies of our state, will pursue a policy aimed at ensuring security to our state. Consultations held with leaders of other countries also serve this end, the statement continues.

"We will react according to developments, being guided by the principle of respect for the sovereignty of other states. Under these extremely dramatic circumstances—when we have no access to full information on the scale and direction of the developments in the Soviet Union, the Polish Government is increasingly determined to consistently realize the programme of economic and political reforms in Poland," the statement says.

Reaction Considered 'Restrained'

LD1908231291 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, August 19—On Monday morning, Warsaw's private foreign exchange dealers were refusing to buy roubles, following the overthrow of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev by Communist hardliners, although many were selling the Soviet currency at 345 Polish zlotys to the rouble, compared with 360 zlotys to the rouble at the weekend.

Apart from the reaction from the private dealers, reactions in Poland have been restrained, and it seemed to be business as usual in official Polish-Soviet contacts in Poland. The Soviet Embassy in Warsaw said that the embassy, and Soviet consulates in Poland, were functioning normally.

Traffic at Polish-Soviet border crossings was also said to be "normal," according to an announcement from the frontier service at 8 P.M. on Monday. There are an estimated 50-80,000 Soviet citizens in Poland, according to official Polish sources. Few of them seemed to be in a hurry to return home, although the last few trains carrying Soviet pilgrims home from Czestochowa left the town as scheduled on Monday.

Other communication channels also remained open. There were no apparent restrictions on flights between Warsaw and Moscow, and the "Aeroflot" bureau in Warsaw claimed this morning to have no official confirmation from Moscow of the putsch. Telephone contacts between the two countries remained open, and Soviet TV, which can be received in many parts of Poland, had not stopped broadcasting.

Polish-Soviet trade, particularly the import of Soviet oil, has not suffered disruption. The oil pipeline from the Soviet Union was still flowing, and supplies at Polish refineries were said to be adequate by Stanislaw Kaczmarek of the oil-importing enterprise "Ciech-Petrolimpex." In addition, Poland has reduced its

dependence on Soviet oil imports from 90 percent in recent years to 60 percent this year, he added.

Shipping, both Polish and Soviet, showed no signs of disruption. There were no Polish ships from the Polish steamship company PZM in Soviet harbours, a company spokesman said, and none were scheduled to sail there in the near future. Several Soviet ships were said to be in Polish harbours, working normally, a Soviet consular official said.

Ministry Limits Trips

LD2008012991 Warsaw PAP in English 2253 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—The Polish Foreign Ministry on Monday advised Poles to limit their trips to the USSR to the necessary minimum.

On the other hand, the ministry said there was no threat to Polish citizens and institutions in the USSR in connection with the situation there.

Solidarity Presidium Comments

LD1908155791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] A moment ago, we received a statement from the Presidium of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity] Solidarity National Commission. The Presidium sees in recent events in the Soviet Union an attempt to reverse the process of transformation taking place in the USSR. The experiences of many countries, including Poland, indicate that policies imposed on society by force are inhuman and inefficient. We fear the consequences that may result from the activities of the USSR authorities, stemming from the fact of the introduction of a state of emergency on the territory of the Soviet Union. We see in this a threat to the recently reborn democracies, the countries of central Eastern Europe. We appeal to the governments of the democratic states, to the United Nations, and to trade unions, to immediately react to all cases of the violation of human and civic rights in the USSR.

Mazowiecki Reacts

LD1908154291 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Democratic Union, has expressed the hope that the people and nations of the Soviet Union, including the Russian nation, will be spared the suffering so many times experienced and associated with the transgression of human rights and the right of nations to the sovereign shaping of their lives. At the moment, all of Polish society, especially all political forces, should bear witness to their responsibility for the mutual good that is the Republic and its raison d'etat. The present demands the coherence of all responsible forces, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said.

Jaruzelski Issues Statement

LD1908152191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] PAP has received a statement from the former president, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, presented through his spokesman, Wlodzimierz Lozinski. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski does not have full information, and the news at hand does not justify more detailed evaluation and commentary. One can only say that the introduction of a state of emergency is an internal matter of the Soviet Union. Thus, moderation and restraint are required in statements, so that they are not received in Moscow as interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Of course, the Soviet Union is a state of such world rank that anything that takes place there cannot be a matter of indifference to anyone. This applies in significant measure to Poland. I trust, however, that Polish-Soviet relations will not suffer. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski hopes that Soviet society will resolve the difficult problems facing it in a spirit of accord and calm.

Polish Television Comments

LD1908190991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] The (?whole) history of the Soviet Union can be summed up in one word: force, force, and yet again force. What the leaders of the revolution and the founders of the first peasant-worker state in the world did was to, above all, raise mass force and terror to the level of state policy. Apart from that, Lenin also raised lawlessness to the level of state policy. It reigned with all the universally-known results throughout the entire Stalinist period, and in a more (?inhibited) form, it survived the Khrushchev period, who released some people from the Gulags but did not close down the camps. It was continued in the Brezhnev period, when, with the reek of alcohol, corruption spread and psychiatric hospitals filled up with dissidents. Andropov and Chernenko maintained the status quo.

Naive western Sovietologists thought that as Gorbachev did not look like a troglodyte, wore well-cut suits, and could speak English, he was immediately a European and a liberal. The massacre of demonstrators in Tbilisi, the pacification of the Armenian villages in Karabakh, and the attack on the television tower in Vilnius— Are the Moscow events really a conflict between a world reformer and black conservatives ? After all Gorbachev was only carrying out a cosmetic operation and only so as to save the system? The fact of the matter is that even these cosmetics caused a deadly fear among all the generals and colonels from the Army, the militia, and the all-powerful KGB—all those party apparatchiks whom no one needed, and whole legions of high officials of very important institutions. They all create a new class—the red bourgoisie—and as the adherents of Marxist-Leninism claim, each class defends to the death its class interests.

Gorbachev let the peoples' democracies go, the bourgeois (?shook) with fear; Gorbachev gave society a freer rein and the bourgeois started to panic, believing that the workers and peasants would come to settle accounts. It was precisely the fear of the new masters that they would lose their privileged social position that has caused the coup and the removal of the legally elected president of the USSR, the destroyer of the Leninist and Stalinist order. The Soviet tradition of lawlessness and force has been adhered to.

Troop Withdrawal Talks With USSR To Continue

LD1908232691 Warsaw PAP in English 2116 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—After Soviet Ambassador to Poland Yuri Kashlev talked with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, on the latters request, in Warsaw this afternoon, government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski told journalists that all the dates of negotiations between Poland and the USSR would be met. "This was confirmed also by Gen. Dubynin," he added.

The 11th round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland is scheduled for August 21-23.

The spokesman said also that international political consultations would be continued on various levels, including the Warsaw-Prague-Budapest triangle, and that consultations with German authorities could not be ruled out either.

Asked whether the Polish Government planned to recognize the new Soviet authorities, Zarebski answered: "Our information on the scale and direction of events in the USSR is far too incomplete."

Asked about safeguarding Poland's eastern border, Zarebski explained that the situation was being examined all the time and that "there was no greater threat than yesterday or the day before yesterday."

Zarebski said that 115,000 Soviet citizens were now staying in Poland and that this number included 3,300 pilgrims who stayed after the pope's visit. From this group, about !00 people applied for granting them the right of permanent residence. Apart from them, also another 12 Soviet citizens lodged similar applications. Zarebski said that these figures spoke for themselves and that "there are no signs that Poland would be threatened with a wave of refugees in the coming future.

Talks Commence 20 Aug

LD1908191891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Government spokesman Zarebski has said that Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, summoned by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, came to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 1600. He gave assurances that all dates for negotiations will be maintained, including the 11th round of negotiations on the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Poland that is to commence on Wednesday.

Signals Unit To Leave Keszyce

LD1908225991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 2025 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] The voivodship office in Gorzow has reported that tomorrow, as planned, the first battalions of the Soviet signals unit will leave Keszyce. Thus, the evacuation of Soviet forces from the Gorzow Voivodship will begin.

Bielecki Urges Rapid Integration Into Europe

PM2008143291 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 18 Aug 91 p 11

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki by Michael Kuttner in Warsaw; date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—"Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Poland," came the upbeat message from the captain of the creaking LOT aircraft between Copenhagen and Warsaw. There was almost an hour left before landing, we were over the Baltic, but nevertheless he apparently could not wait to put the front wheels down on Polish soil.

This is the sort of thing that Jan Krzysztof Bielecki needs: Optimism combined with professional knowledge and industry. On 22 August, Poland's 40-year-old prime minister arrives in Denmark for an official visit at the invitation of Prime Minister Poul Schluter. For a short while, he will leave behind him his threadbare country—the largest in Europe—and its devastated economy, its despondent population, and its political squabbling, which will inevitably increase in the run-up to the legislative elections 27 October.

But on this summer morning, he was in the midst of it, albeit comfortably seated on a rococo sofa in his reception room. He steadily smoked one Dunhill cigarette after another, while he parried questions from your correspondent with a certain shyness.

"Poland has almost no time left," the prime minister said, half to himself. "We have a historic chance to develop the country toward democracy and a market economy, after things went in the other direction for 45 years. That is why our goal is integration in the EC and a European security system. This must happen quickly, because poverty and nationalism go hand in hand. Also, the West will benefit from this. Poland's imports will be greater than its exports."

According to Bielecki, the Poles find it "hard to understand what the fundamental pillars of a market economy are. That is why freedom must be closely linked with responsibility. People have to learn that it is not only a question of success, but also a question of risk."

Does he agree with his foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who was recently quoted as saying that Poles are ready to die for their country, but not to work for it?

"Did he really say that?" the prime minister asked amazed, but also a little impressed. "Yes, that problem does exist; it is true," he added.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was appointed by newly elected President Lech Walesa, on one of the last days of December last year—and it was not an easy appointment. At least one other candidate had already said "no," and it seems as if Bielecki had to be begged to take on government responsibility, initially as a transitional figure.

In recent weeks, the Polish press has dealt in detail with the president's relationship with his prime minister, in addition to reporting on the exhausted state health care system and the notorious financial scandals. The fiery-tempered Walesa is said to be dissatisfied with Bielecki, because he proceeds quietly and does not make a lot of noise about the reforms.

"My relationship with Walesa is the same as it was 10 years ago," Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said, but he found it difficult to hide a smile when he was asked what the relationship was like then.

"Lech Walesa," he added, "is a great supporter of democracy and the market economy. Our relationship is determined by the Constitution."

No further words or elaborations came from the prime minister on this point, and his press spokesman stared at the ceiling with interest.

There was different energy when the talk turned to Denmark. "It is wonderful to see the Danish Government's realistic approach to Poland's integration in the EC—especially when you know that agriculture means a lot to Denmark, and Danish agriculture could experience difficulties because we, too, are investing in that sector, in addition to steel and textiles."

In truth, tidbits about domestic conditions are not something that Bielecki gives away voluntarily. If you ask him whether the internationally respected, but heavy-handed finance minister, Leszek Balcerowicz, is on the launching pad as the result of increasingly violent criticism from political opponents, he replies: "We are all subject to pluralism."

However, if you move a little closer to him on the rococo sofa, he does say: "Balcerowicz is the symbol of all sorts of difficulties. Whether he remains in office or not, there will be no decisive changes for the Poles."

Does the prime minister admit that he is not very talkative?

"Naturally," Jan Krzysztof Bielecki said, "you do have to explain yourself to the people every single day, but that is a difficult task, because the status quo has to break down during the transition to a market economy. We are trying to make the status quo break down, but there are many psychological problems. Many people will find themselves living and working under much changed circumstances—workers, as well as directors and artists. How do you explain to people that much of what they know is useless? It is relatively easy with young people, but imagine people a year before retirement—it is not easy."

The press spokesman who was sitting in the chair opposite us looked worriedly at his watch but, undaunted, Bielecki fished his third Dunhill in four minutes from the pack.

The Soviet Embassy is situated further down the street, but the direct telephone lines to the prime minister's office dating from the Communist era have been cut. How does Bielecki view Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev? Is it rash for the West to put most of its money on him, as it seems to be doing?

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki surprised me by replying almost without frills: "I have always taken the view that it is better to bet on facts rather than on individual persons. Gorbachev has done much for detente in Europe, but the problem is that life does not stand still."

The spokesman looked pleadingly, first at one man and then the other on the rococo sofa. The morning's timetable threatened to fall behind. Bielecki drew on his cigarette and, for the first time without using the interpreter, said: "Why have you not asked me about cooperation across Europe?"

"Done," we replied.

"It does not matter," Bielecki reassured us, "but I think that it is time for North-South cooperation, not just West-East cooperation. We must have ties with southern Europe, economically and culturally. Here Poland could be a valuable link."

It sounded good, and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki looked satisfied. An idea from a man who knows that he will probably not be occupying his present post in three months' time and that Poland's problems are incalculable? Perhaps.

Shortly after his visit to Denmark, he will travel to the United States. Unlike on his visit to Copenhagen, it is being whispered in Warsaw that he has invited himself to the United States. The aim is said to be to guarantee a good and problem-free press at the beginning of the election campaign.

Does he want to continue as prime minister? "I am not thinking that far ahead," he assured us and put out his cigarette. "The important thing is to do your job properly." [passage omitted]

Reportage on Reaction to Gorbachev Overthrow

Iliescu Chairs Meeting

AU1908200591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/8/1991—A meeting, presided over by Romanian President Ion Iliescu, took place on August 19, 1991, participated in by the president and speaker of the Parliament's chambers, cabinet representatives, members of the Supreme Defense Council of Romania.

They reviewed the statements and news items received on the situation in the USSR as a result of Mikhail Gorbachev's ouster from the office of president of the USSR.

Profound preoccupation and worry was expressed in connection with the events in the USSR, with their possible worsening, including for our brothers in the Republic of Moldova, that may endanger the course to democratic transformations.

The president of Romania, the other participants in the meeting expressed confidence that on these moments all political and social forces, all citizens of Romania will show political wisdom, calm, lucid-mindedness and vigilance, ensuring a constructive climate and the normal unfolding of activity in all sectors of economic and social life of the country.

Prime Minister Reacts

LD1908163891 Madrid RNE International in Spanish 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] When he learned of the removal of Mikhail Gorbachev as president of the Soviet Union, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, who is in San Lorenzo de El Escorial in Madrid Province, said that it was impossible to hold back the process of democratization and economic development and the international integration of the USSR. In a brief news conference, the Romanian prime minister said that the information on events in the Soviet Union is limited and contradictory, indicating [words indistinct] to wait to establish whether these changes are due to a blocking of the democratic process or if it is simply a way to get the country out of economic chaos.

FSN Issues Communique

AU1908183591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/8/1991—In the morning of August 19 the leadership of the National Salvation Front [FSN] met to survey the situation created after Mikhail Gorbachev's replacement from the office of president of the Soviet Union.

The National Salvation Front has taken note of the developments in the USSR that have led to the set-up of the Emergency State Committee and to the instatement of other special measures.

The National Salvation Front closely watches the course of events in the neighboring country and expresses its hope that the process of reform and democratization will continue in the interest of international peace and stability, winds up the communique.

PNT-cd Position Reported

AU2008134391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1319 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/8/1991—In connection with the tragical events in the Soviet Union where a coup d'etat was committed against constitutional order and democratic freedoms, the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party [PNT-cd] expresses its consternation and protest at the brutal interference of the coalition between the representatives of the retrograde conservative structures and the military factors of repressive structures, shows a statement made by this political grouping and sent to ROMPRES for publication.

We could notice that the violation of law, which has stopped the neighbouring country's democratic evolution for the time being, is a direct outcome of the Soviet president's and executive power's protracted hesitation in neutralizing the factors destabilizing the democratic trends initiated in recent years by the legitimate decision-making fora in the USSR.

The Peasant Party's deep concern over this fact is paralleled by its full solidarity with the Romanian brothers in Bessarabia and Bukovina who are confronted with the danger posed by the foreseeable excesses of the temporary military dictatorship, and calls on all the democratic political groupings, on the non-party civil organizations, the trade unions, the students' leagues and associations safeguarding human rights and liberties to be solid in their protest against the dictatorial tendencies manifest by the authors of the coup d'etat in USSR, the statement also shows.

Press Reacts to Overthrow

AU2008122591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1100 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 20/8/1991—The leading Romanian dailies comment on the effects of the thunderbolt-like event that hit the whole international community: The ouster of the one who determined the resurrection of the democratic movements in Eastern Europe—Mikhail Gorbachev.

Under the heading "the inevitable has produced," ADEVARUL writes: Mikhail Gorbachev, the one who tried to adjust water to fire, more specifically to make an essentially inhumane system humane, is compelled to

leave the "stage." Showing no concern over nuances, his adversaries acted in the usual rude manner long exercised inside Kremlin's walls. It is a fait accompli and its implications are tremendous at a global scale. What will Gorbachev's much contemplated European common home look like with Soviet troops armed to the teeth?

The inevitable has produced... whereto the grand ship of communist Soviets sails is difficult to understand, says ROMANIA LIBERA in its turn... As for us (the Romanians, e.n.), the impact of such a forceful comeback of our Eastern neighbour to the former order can be a bad omen. All the more so as the indicators of our own coup d'etat in December 1989 are neo-communist, left-wing forces that have shown pretty vigorous of late. The daily considers it is the time to accurately define the political beliefs that inspire us and to adopt governing formulae and criteria apt to guarantee the spirit of political honesty, the establishment of a climate of democracy and national unity. Against this background we think the seriousness of the events in this part of the world calls for a reconsideration of the executive's political composition with a view to achieving political stability that is indispensable nowadays. It is the time to form a solid and well-pondered government coalition understood as an imperative of our own survival.

TINERETUL LIBER considers Gorbachev's ouster an outcome of his errors in home policy, more particularly of his failure in having powerful enough allies in the institutions that are behind his overthrow as well as of his errors in assessing the East, which once again has proved his precarious information and knowledge in Kremlinology and East European politics. It is quite clear that, without a massive, unhesitating Eastern support the former leader's reform was to fail, as in fact it did.

Referring to a potential impact of the Soviet crisis on Romania, the above-mentioned daily does not believe in a possible coup by the "conservative forces." It is quite evident we should cautiously, calmly and carefully see the shift at Kremlin. In case of a fast stabilization of the situation, the Romanian-Soviet Treaty signed by President Iliescu could particularly now show its utility ... Taking into account potential undesirable developments, the only viable and necessary internal reaction would be an eventual finding of the so-commented and discredited national consensus, an honest and responsible cooperation of all the forces that are truly attached to the country's independence and the cause of democracy.

Civic Alliance Issues Appeal

AU1908191191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1827 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/8/1991—"In consideration of the grave events in the USSR," the Civic Alliance Party and the Civic Alliance have launched the following appeal "to all democratic formations in Romania, to all those who want freedom and democracy in the country:

"We think that it is only by national unity that we can avert the dangers entailed by these events. We are aware that in our country and in all countries in Eastern and Central Europe that were under communist domination there are circles interested in a relapse to the old states of affairs. An arrest of the democratic process in the USSR reactuates the tendency to restore totalitarianism. It is only by the unity of the democratic forces above the party interests that can be guaranteed the continuation of the process of democratization, that the integrity of Romania's frontiers and the salvation of the Romanian people's interests can be ensured. Under the circumstances, the population, the democratic parties, the state institutions, the trade unions, church, army, associations and groups of persons, the order-keeping forces must join in the effort to continue our course toward a free society. We are worried about the fate of our Romanian brothers in Bessarabia and in all annexed provinces."

The appeal urges the governments and democratic forces in the formerly communist countries to solidarity in front of the common danger. The Western countries are urged to further support by all means the democratic process in Central and Eastern Europe.

Charter Group Issues Communique

AU1908191491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1838 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/8/1991—Representatives of the National Salvation Front, the Ecological Movement of Romania and the Young Liberals (signatories to the Charter for Reform and Democracy) met on August 19 to discuss the implications of the events in the Soviet Union, as well as to analyze the current political, social and economic situation in Romania. A communique released by them shows: "The signatory parties express their preoccupation and deep worry about the developments in the neighbor country and their consequences for the situation in the continent and in the region. They urge all democratic political forces to act responsibly in this crucial moment. Romania was able to overcome the difficult moments in its history by wise positions that led to unity, for the salvation of the national interests.

"By the will of the whole nation, Romania has taken an irreversible course of democratic transformations and profound economic and social reforms. The extremist left- or right-wing forces, communist first of all, try to take advantage in a demagogic manner of the social difficulties inherent to the reform.

"In behalf of the sufferings of the Romanian people in the past 45 years of communist regime, of the sacrifices of December 1989, all democratic parties of the country

had to join efforts for the consolidation of democracy and the firm continuation of the political, economic and social transformations.

"The extremist forces must be excluded from the Romanian political life. These forces should know that the Romanian people opposes any attempts of return to totalitarianism."

Fratia Wants Unity

AU1908191291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1834 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/8/1991—"Fratia" issued a statement saying that, "the confederation remains true to its democratic ideals and considers that at such moments of resurgent totalitarianism the Romanian nation needs to stay united and confident of its national destiny."

While noticing that in Romania former communist structures, insidiously building on the precarious economic situation resulting from decades of communist central planning and from the present leadership's inability to find amiable solutions, are trying to reverse the course of history, "Fratia" is calling on all employees to resist being turned into a mass of manipulation by obscure political forces and to never relinquish the ideals of the December 1989 anti-communist revolution.

'Alarming Drop in Coal Output' Reported

AU1908135791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/8/1991—Referring to the alarming drop in coal output in the second semester of the year so far (more than 50,000 tonnes of crude pit coal and 25,000 tonnes of net pit coal less), Emilian Negrea, head of Production Department of the Pit Coal Public Corporation of the Jiu Valley, showed that the Lupeni mine was responsible for most of the aforementioned arrears, the average daily extractions standing at less than 3,000 tonnes as to 7,000 to 8,000 tonnes before the revolution. Deficiencies in the transport flow and inappropriate progress in mechanized faces allowed infiltration water to flood faces as well as coal bins.

The head of the Production Department of the Petrosani Public Corporation said in August the scheduled daily production was smaller than in July so that it could be achieved.

Federal

Cease-Fire Commission Issues Statement on Clashes

LD1908192791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)— The ninth session of the SFRY Presidency's Cease-fire Commission was held today in Belgrade. Commission Chairman Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, chaired the session. The commission was briefed about the situation in the crisis areas and breaches of the cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia, especially in the town in Okucani, a statement from the session revealed.

Having considered the situation, the commission expressed concern because the SFRY Presidency's decision on the absolute and unconditional cease-fire is not being observed despite the fact that the warring parties accepted the cease-fire decision.

The commission was briefed that joint observer groups have arrived in the crisis areas in the Republic of Croatia. It was stressed that their departure was a week behind schedule because of newly created difficulties regarding Croatia's acceptance of the work plan and the composition of the observer groups. The commission assessed that activities of the observer groups, with the cooperation of all interested parties, will contribute to the observance of the cease-fire decision.

The statement then stresses that on the basis of the available information, the commission discussed recent events in Okucani and its vicinity and set up a working group which, together with representatives of the Croatian Government and the Serbians from that area, will establish facts through an on-the-spot investigation. The group consists of SFRY Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic, SFRY Assembly Vice President Irfan Ajanovic, Deputy Federal Secretary for National Defense Adml Stane Brovet, Deputy Federal Secretary for Justice and Administration Svetozar Zecar, and Deputy Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Misovic.

The Commission will discuss a report of the working group at the next session. On the basis of available findings, it will inform the SFRY Presidency about all facts relating to armed clashes in Okucani, the statement concludes.

Jovic Says Tudjman 'Torpedoing' Presidency

LD1908161391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the agreed session of the Presidency on 20 and 21 August, the office of Presidency Member Borisav Jovic today issued a public statement which says "that this session with the presidents of the republics, or with the presidents of the Presidencies of the republics, and highest-ranking officials of the federation, has been brought into question."

The statement goes on to say: "Again, it is a case of machinations similar to those as a result of which some earlier scheduled sessions on the same topics were also prevented, but it is a matter of attempts to achieve an agreement on the functioning of the system in the period of the three-month moratorium and on a conception of the country's future political system.

The session was officially scheduled for 13 August at 1030 in Belgrade. At the SFRY Presidency session on Friday, the 16th of this month, members of the Presidency were informed that the President of the Republic of Croatia would take part in the session provided that a confederal agreement on an alliance of sovereign states or an agreement on disintegration would be on the agenda, and that he would come to the session only if it were held on Brioni. He would not come to Belgrade.

The Presidency assessed that agreement can be given to the session also considering the questions upon which President Tudjman insists. Regarding the insistence that the venue of the session be shifted to Brioni, there were differing opinions, but it was agreed that [SFRY Presidency] President Mesic have talks with all the presidents of the republics, or Presidencies of the republics, and if agreement is reached with everyone, he can make a decision in keeping with this.

The consultations demonstrated that a unanimous agreement on a change of venue for the holding of the session was not reached. Independently of this, and contrary to the conclusion of the meeting of the Presidency, President Mesic decided that for the already scheduled extended session on 21 and 22 August in Belgrade, he is today changing the venue to Brioni, as was demanded in an ultimatum by Franjo Tudjman.

In these circumstances it is obvious that the session has been torpedoed by ultimatums, as in earlier similar circumstances. It is evident that talks are being avoided and there continues to be resort to a policy of a fait accompli and confrontation, probably in the expectation of a more favorable outcome for himself from such a course of events," it says at the end of the statement of the office of Borisav Jovic.

Mesic Comments on Army's Role in Crisis

LD1908120891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—The ambition of some people is to freeze their plunder of Croatia's lands, something that is not acceptable. The truce is violated by these groups. They are well armed with weaponry of the latest generation from domestic sources. They are continuing to go about their business. No one is preventing them from doing so.

This was emphasized by SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic in his conversation this morning with a journalist of "Radio Politika". He added that the next move is "internationalization. The world must eventually side up with the victim, condemn this aggression, and get involved to lead all the entities in Yugoslavia to the negotiating table."

Asked to comment on the news that Mikhail Gorbachev had resigned and that a state of emergency had been introduced in the Soviet Union, Mesic said that he had just heard this news. "It is difficult to comment on this, but this is also the firmest piece of evidence that their situation is not an easy one either."

He stressed that yesterday he announced that "he might walk out of the Presidency on the strength of my conscience, for I cannot provide legitimacy for the Army and its involvement in the conflict. According to some decisions it is, in fact, not involved," Mesic said. He said that "by and large" the Army was carrying out the state presidency's decisions since "the Army always says it will do what the state presidency has decided. The state presidency is, however, under a blockade imposed by the Serbian block."

"For the last two or three months stories have been gaining currency about attacks against the unarmed Serbian people, although there has not been a single case of any village or man coming under an attack just because he is a Serb or just because it is a Serbian village. On the contrary, police stations were attacked, their arms were seized, and then the Army turned up as an alleged buffer. In the meantime, these unarmed Serbian folk have laid their defenseless hands on heavy mortars, heavy weaponry, and even the Yugoslav Army uniforms. Whether this is a matter of just some Army commanders or whether this is becoming part of the system is another question. This is why I, too, have to face the dilemma whether I can sit in a certain place while the Army is waging war. I can do nothing to make it return to its barracks and leave the police to deal with police work," Mesic maintains.

In his words, there is a simple solution for the restoration of the Yugoslav Presidency's authority. It is all due to the strategic decisions made by certain republics' leaderships. "I do not believe in any kind of peace that the Army can introduce. It can only make things more complicated and turn the course of affairs inexorably in the direction desired by no one."

"One side does not admit that it is involved in the conflict. That is Serbia. Slobodan Milosevic's regime has solved none of Serbia's problems. It has not solved the Kosovo problem, so to retain his grip on power he is initiating these clashes in Croatia. He is paying for these irregular units. He even tolerates their mobilization in Serbia, the units which are doing their business in Croatia. All Serbs in one state means, in fact, a struggle for Croatia's territories where there are Serbs. If this is a matter of the rights of Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and other republics, then these rights should be discussed rather than these territories. Serbia should recognize the borders and the Army should return to barracks. Those who planned to present Serbia with the dowry of someone else's territory will easily give up their involvement once the Army and Serbia have stopped assisting them," Mesic said.

International

Markovic Holds Talks With De Michelis

LD1908160691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Ohrid, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—On his way to Tirana, Italian Foreign Minister de Michelis stopped over in Ohrid, where he held informal and unofficial talks with Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic, who is in Ohrid.

De Michelis also met Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov.

During the talks, views were exchanged about the situation in Yugoslavia and the latest developments in the Soviet Union, the cabinet of the Macedonian president revealed.

Presidency Following USSR Developments

LD2008044291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2209 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—The State presidency of Yugoslavia will with the greatest attention follow the further development of the situation in the Soviet Union in view of the importance of that country and its bilateral relations with Yugoslavia, it was announced in Belgrade on Monday.

The eight-member collective statue leadership, headed by president Stipe Mesic, met in Belgrade tonight to review the developments in the Soviet Union and their possible influence on the situation in Yugoslavia.

The Federal parliament president, the Yugoslav prime minister, foreign and interior secretaries and deputy defence secretary also participated in the work of the session.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar informed the Presidency about the latest developments in the Soviet Union, a statement from the session [word indistinct].

Dissociation, Similarities Viewed

LD1908185291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's expanded session, the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia discussed, inter alia, republican activities

regarding the dissociation process after the moratorium expires, a statement for the public says, and reiterates the stand that Slovenia must continue to launch initiatives for the resolution and regulation of relations in Yugoslavia.

The Presidency also discussed issues regarding "the Yugoslav Army (YA) withdrawal from Slovenia," and "again affirmed that it is in Slovenia's interest that the YA leaves the republic forever."

The Presidency also stresses that "in this context, everything should be done for the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible." Regarding controversial issues, such as the withdrawal of military health institutions, air traffic control equipment, and other equipment not needed for military purposes, the Slovene Presidency decided "to propose to the Federal Presidency to discuss and resolve these issues at a joint meeting, which should be held as soon as possible."

The republican Presidency also discussed the latest developments in the Soviet Union, and "despite the fact that the available information does not lend itself to a detailed analysis, it expressed concern."

The latest developments in the Soviet Union "could significantly slow down the detente, lead to the restoration of totalitarianism, and a fresh division of the world into spheres of influence," the statement for the public says, and stresses that "also because of that, Slovenia must work more quickly on shaping an independent and sovereign state."

Foreign Ministry Comments

LD1908160991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1444 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, August 19 (TANJUG)—The ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia assesses that the changes in the Soviet Union might "shatter the detente in the world", as it was announced today.

"A destabilized Soviet Union, with its huge nuclear and military potential, could constitute a threat to the world order, both in politics and economy", says the statement.

The Slovenian Foreign Ministry believes that the "events in the Soviet Union will inevitably affect other east and central European states with emerging democracies".

"The situation in Yugoslavia, the aggressiveness of the dogmatic forces and their continuous wish for a possible restoration of totalitarianism, reaffirm our belief that Slovenia should speeed up the process of dissociation and receive international recognition as soon as possible", says the statement.

The Republic of Slovenia on June 25 adopted a decision on dissociation from Yugoslavia, in keeping with the results of a referendum. However, the Brioni Declaration put a three-month moratorium on this decision. The Brioni Declaration was signed on July 7 by top Yugoslav officials, republican leaders and members of the E.C. peace-keeping mission.

Government Surprised

LD1908234791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] The government of the Republic of Croatia holds that the unconstitutional change in the top leadership and in the policy of the Soviet Union is an international event of paramount importance both because of the significance of the Soviet Union within the international community and also because of Mikhail Gorbachev's historic role in initiating reforms of political, social, and economic life in the world.

Despite difficulties in the Soviet Union, particularly economic ones which, as officially reported, motivated changes in the Soviet leadership, the Croatian government cannot help expressing its surprise over the way in which these changes were made. Therefore, the Croatian government points to its wish to see the undoubtedly great achievements in democratization of life in the Soviet Union and also respect for the will of the Soviet nations and republics regarding the model and way of their own life preserved in the present processes and developments in the Soviet Union.

The Republic of Croatia will continue to maintain honest and friendly relations with Soviet republics, particularly with those republics with which Croatia has had close economic relations. The government of the Republic of Croatia is convinced that the Soviet Union will on its side support that cooperation as well as the resolute orientation of the government of the Republic of Croatia to develop democracy in Croatia and contribute to the peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Foreign Minister Views

AU1908204891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Tatjana Lenard on 19 August on the "World Today" program—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Lenard] Good evening. Mikhail Gorbachev is no longer in the political and party leadership of the Soviet Union. This news has caused shock and anxiety in the world. In tonight's "World Today" program we will be talking about Serbia's foreign policy strategy. We cannot, however, ignore the topic of what is actually happening in the Soviet Union, that is to say to react to what we heard today.

Our guest is the new minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Serbia, Vladislav Jovanovic. What is your comment?

[Jovanovic] You see, our view is that this is an internal matter of the Soviet Union in which we should not meddle. On the other hand, the event is so fresh and certainly very important that it requires many more elements if the general situation is to be to assessed.

On the other hand, it would be more natural to address this question to the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, considering that Yugoslavia is an internationally recognized political factor and that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs is more authorized to make statements on the current political events in the world.

[Lenard] Nevertheless, the first commentaries make some comparisons between the situation in the Soviet Union and the situation in our country, at least to the effect that the EC should be more cautious in its reaction to dramatic events in some countries and should be more consistent, so what happened with Yugoslavia does not happen again.

[Jovanovic] Caution is always recommended concerning foreign affairs activities, especially when it comes to relations with other countries. Regarding consistency, again this is more of a wish than a possibility, because this consistency in complex communities or organisms is often the final cosmetic appearance. Often it is not useful because the right stands and correct assessments are in fact arrived at through the confrontation of opinions and stands. Therefore, the commentaries you mentioned are more of a prediction of something rather than a recommendation for an organization such as the EC. In any case, the world has been prompted to deal with commentaries, guesses, and even speculation of all kinds whenever events like today's happen or whenever it is possible to compare, even visually, two federal and complex countries such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

[Lenard] The Soviet Union is certainly a topic that will be at the center of attention in the course of the next days. We know, however, that we and the Yugoslav crisis were at the focus of the world public's attention until almost today. The world will certainly continue paying attention to us. How would you describe our current crisis? What are its main elements?

[Jovanovic] This is a big question; the crisis is even bigger. There are, of course, different aspects in viewing it. In my view the main elements were created in the past years and have multiplied with the development of the situation. The consequences are the changes in the stand of the Republic of Serbia toward the constitutional situation that existed until recently and toward the future of the common state. Problems emerged when Serbia questioned its status as a weaker republic within the Yugoslav federation, primarily because other republics felt this as a possible threat to their privileged status in relation to Serbia.

On the other hand, it is Serbia's natural interest to preserve the common state or the federation, for reasons that are obvious, above all for the pure fact that this is the only form of state organization tot guarantee the cohabitation of all sections of Serbian people in one country. Such an approach to solving Yugoslavia's future obviously did not suit other republics, which preferred another formula, a formula of a federation or some kind of union, be it a contractual federation or an association, which the Republic of Serbia cannot accept for the aforementioned reasons.

Therefore, there are several essential reasons of a conceptual nature, reasons that are at the root of the matter. Other reasons are attached to it. Among these is the latest escalation of secessionism and the beginning of the final process of Yugoslavia's disintegration, which as we know started some 20 years ago with the adoption of a new constitution.

[Lenard] How is that a united and strong Yugoslavia suited Europe and many other countries until yesterday, and that they thought Yugoslavia should be a stabilizing factor in Europe, but now it appears that they have given up, at least some of them? Is this also connected with the formula of a weak Serbia and strong Yugoslavia, which Serbia justifiably opposes?

[Jovanovic] There are certainly some elements of that, too, because this wave of criticism toward Serbia appeared when Serbia questioned its degrading position in Yugoslavia. However, I would rather say that pragmatic reasons play a more important role at present. Some Western countries, or the West as a whole, are primarily led by the wish to see as little instability in Yugoslavia as possible, instability that could endanger a broader area, not only in the Balkans, but also further afield, instability that would draw attention and energy away from other tasks of integration in the continent as a whole.

It is possible that certain mistakes in assessments and calculations have been made in this respect, because the big question is whether a certain degree of affinity and support for secessionism is causing greater instability than the insistence by the Yugoslav republics on the preservation of life together in one form of common state or another. This second path is probably more complex and longer lasting and this is what some countries in the West found to be more complex and more dangerous. Therefore, they are inclined to think or believe, which in my view is only illusionary and deceitful, that the support to secessionism in the northwest of the country could be a way out of the crisis or at least reduce its duration.

However, one should also point out another element that is not sufficiently taken into account in the analyses of many European countries, namely that we are talking about the first, probably unique case of breaking up a country that is member of the CSCE and the world community in a so-called peaceful way. This has not

happened and has not been recorded in modern records before, and when it did happen this was always followed with bloodshed and instability that lasted a long time. Therefore, the dangerous precedent that would be created by altering, reshaping, reducing, or destroying a country like Yugoslavia would certainly be a boomerang that would come back—if not immediately or tomorrow, then certainly later—to many countries who presently think they are protected because they are only watching the crisis our country is experiencing at present. [passage omitted]

EC Willing To Provide Further Help

LD1908190891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1532 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—Special European Community (EC) envoy and Dutch Ambassador Henry Wijnaendts told Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar here today that the EC was ready to continue its engagement in the resolution of Yugoslavia's crisis.

An announcement said that Wijnaendts advised Loncar of details of the talks he had held with top federal and republican leaders since arrival in Yugoslavia on Thursday evening.

Wijnaendts, envoy of chairman of the EC Council of Ministers and Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van den Broek, arrived to monitor, as was said, the enforcement of the decision on a ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Slovenia

Government Fears Adverse Impact of Soviet Events

AU1908152091 Ljubljana Radio Slovene Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] at today's expanded session the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia also discussed the latest events in the Soviet Union. In connection with these events the Slovene Foreign Ministry issued the following statement, read by Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Rupel:

[Begin Rupel recording] In our opinion, the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union could be perceived as a dramatic and far-reaching intervention in the post-communist processes in the Soviet Union. The events in the Soviet Union also inevitably influence other Eastern and Central European countries with their newly emerging democracies. One can expect that the changes in the Soviet Union will result in shake-ups in the process of the relaxation of tensions in the world. There is no doubt that a destabilized Soviet Union with its enormous nuclear and military potential could represent a threat to the world order in both the political and economic spheres.

Finally, the situation in the SFRY, the aggression of the dogmatic forces, and their continuing tendencies toward the possibilities for restoring totalitarianism have made us firm in our conviction that the Republic of Slovenia must speed up the process of its disassociation and achieve international recognition as soon as possible. Only in this way can we diminish the danger of those forces who model themselves after their idols in the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Croatia

Tudjman Assesses Solution to National Crisis

LD1908191691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] London, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman, in an article published in today's London weekly EUROPEAN, presents an assessment that "the only reasonable solution" of Yugoslavia's crisis was "the moving out of Croatia's Serbs, along with a financial compensation."

Tudjman writes that he is ready "to give Croatia's moderate Serbs autonomy and self-government in the parts where they make up majority population."

In the predominantly Serbian-populated parts of Croatia, fierce fighting is taking place between the armed forces of this Yugoslav republic and armed Serbian civilians.

Clashes have escalated since Croatia made on June 25 a decision on secession, which is not accepted by Serbs who want to remain in Yugoslavia.

"Americans and Europeans must understand that between Croats and Serbs there exists the genuine hatred. We are not different peoples, we are different civilizations," says Tudjman in his article.

Tudjman, in his article in THE EUROPEAN, repeats the thesis by the Croatian authorities that the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia is preparing an attack on Croatia and adds that in such the European Community (E.C.) will send out troops to defend Croatia.

The leadership of Serbia strongly denies such charges, stressing that what is involved in Croatia is the Serbs' being imperilled. For long centuries, Serbs have been living in this Yugoslav republic.

Mesic: Kosovo Albanians Should Elect Government

LD1908163991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1326 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Pristina, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic has stated in an interview with SKENDI that "the Albanians, since they have already proclaimed the Republic of Kosovo, should elect a government and president of the republic as soon as

possible, and the Kosovo Assembly must be more active in its daily involvement in the resolution of current problems in this area."

Mesic added that "this should not mean that these problems are resolved by arms. Let the entities and institutions of the system function in any circumstances and let them be active so they might break up this blockade."

Mesic considers that "the leaders of Kosovo should know how to act in these difficult conditions, and political parties and independent trade unions how to coordinate their work and activity to get Albanian workers back to their work places."

To the observation of a journalist that on a previous occasion he had promised he would visit Kosovo as soon as he was elected president of the SFRY Presidency, Mesic replied that he would be glad to do this today as well, but that he has no one with whom to have talks, when not a single legitimate entity is functioning in Kosovo.

"Am I to have talks with the emergency entities, or to have a discussion with Sejdo Bajramovic about the Albanian question?" Mesic asked.

The president of the SFRY Presidency thinks "no one can ban Albanians from having a referendum. The people of Kosovo should vote in a referendum on the kind of solution they advocate, and this should be done as soon as possible," Mesic said, among other things, in his interview with SKENDI.

VJESNIK: Army Waging War for Serbia

LD1908153591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1214 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 19 (TANJUG)—Zagreb daily VJESNIK today accuses the Yugoslav People's Army, saying it is now quite openly waging war for account of Serbia and 'serbian militants' in Croatia.

To corroborate the claim, VJESNIK cites the latest fighting in Okucani, central Croatia, about 15 kms from the border with the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The fighting between Croatian paramilitary formations and armed Serbian inhabitants of the village started Friday night. The next day, when it spread to the border with Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Army intervened to make a buffer zone between the conlicting sides.

VJESNIK, however, assesses the Okucani conflict as 'continuation of the announced chronicle of fixing the borders of greater Serbia.'

The daily claims that the federal army, under the guise of 'mediator between the conflicting sides,' is acting in coordination with 'Chetnik terrorists' (as the Croatian authorities call the armed Serbian people in Croatia).

In another commentary, the daily expresses disappointment at first steps of the federal - state and government - commissions which have been touring the crisis areas of Slavonia and Baranja.

The paper accuses members of the Yugoslav Presidency's commission overseeing the ceasefire in Croatia that 'they failed to realize what is happening.' On the other hand, it says that some of them have come with the 'prejudice about dangers threatening the Serbian people in Croatia.'

That was why Croatian member of the state commission Drazen Budisa did not wish to participate in work of the commission which set out for Dalj, where fierce clashes occurred some ten days ago.

BORBA Interviews Krajina Minister on Attacks

LD1908143191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—"We will also bring Petrinja, Karlovac...Zadar...under our control because both we and the Army apparently share the same interest—we need one major port," minister of defense of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina Milan Martic has told BORBA in an exclusive interview.

Asked whether this amounts to an attack on Croatian territories at a time when the claims are being made that "this is a matter of defending one's own home," he said that by so doing one just helps the Serbian people who are rebelling against and do not want to recognize the Croatian authorities in its efforts to decide on their own future. In the statement published by BORBA on the anniversary of the arming of Knin's Serbian population and its resistance to "the Croatian Ustasha authorities," Martic says that "last year's raid by the people on the arms depots belonging to police had not been preplanned." He believes that the truce has no chance "because we are also carrying out regroupings and receiving new supplies of arms in reply to their moves. We have also artillery, our air force, and an army that is on our side, and there is nothing to hide about this fact."

Martic also says that he did not even dream he was going to have such military might at his disposal. The sentiments of the Serbian people are such that it will accept no autonomy, it will not even accept territorial autonomy (something that is being offered now). The territories controlled by the police and territorial defense of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina will forever remain Serbian.

Republic Prepares for 'War Conditions'

LD1908173191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] This morning Croatian President Franjo Tudjman convened the 22nd session of the Supreme State

Council which examined further steps in connection with the development of the internal and international situation.

The Council concluded that, despite the proclaimed cease-fire, war operations against Croatia are spreading. They are being openly joined by units of the Yugoslav Army in conflict-free areas. Statements and ultimatums issued by outlaw leaders show that an escalation of conflicts can be expected in some areas of the republic. That compels the Croatian government to intensify defense activities and preparations for possible complete mobilization and to draw up a plan of action in war conditions.

The Council expressed its regret over the blowing up of the Jewish community headquarters in Zagreb and the loathsome desecration of Jewish tombstones in Mirogoj [cemetery in Zagreb]. The coordination of these explosions shows that those can hardly be acts done by individuals. This is an attempt to bring international discredit on Croatia and to cause tension in good relations between the Croatian government and the Jewish community. An investigation of the odious event is still under way, but everything shows that, like in a recent attempt to blow up an Orthodox church in Petrinja which was prevented by the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, this is yet another attempt to cause interethnic conflicts in the republic.

The coup d'etat in the Soviet Union carried out by conservative forces, backed by the Red Army and the KGB, is an event having huge international importance and which will have its influence on developments in Yugoslavia. Real danger exists that, in coordination with these circles in the Soviet Union, there will be an attempt to implement such a scenario in Yugoslavia.

All that shows that all previous stands assumed by the Croatian politicians were correct, that the Greater Serbian expansionism is closely connected with attempts to restore the communist socialism in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe.

Trying to avoid the trap of waging an open war with the Yugoslav Army, Croatia was aware that in that time a constructive military intervention would have been acceptable for some western political circles.

The Council reached an agreement that Croatia should intensify and coordinate its diplomatic activity to alleviate first unfavorable effects of changes in the Soviet Union and to use them to strengthen the international position and support for democracy and sovereignty in Croatia.

Ahead of an extended session of the Yugoslav Presidency, which is to be held soon, the Council concluded that Croatia should urge the continuation of negotiations, and if possible, discuss the creation of a union of sovereign states or dissociation. That means that the minimal functioning of federal bodies is necessary in view of creating such an alliance or dissociating peacefully, the statement from the session of the Supreme State Council of the Republic of Croatia says in conclusion.

Krajina Official Views Crisis Settlement

LD1908190391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Knin, August 19 (TANJUG)—The deputy prime minister of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, Risto Matkovic, said today that the region has strengthened so much institutionally and politically that it 'has become an unavoidable factor in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis'.

Matkovic told a news conference today in Knin, the center of the region, that Sad Krajina has organs of power as well as armed forces and a defense system.

The Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina was formed by 13 municipalities in Croatia inhabited mainly by Serbs. The region has a government and a parliament. The Croatian authorities declared the decision on the forming of the region as unconstitutional.

The inhabitants of the region voted for autonomy at a referendum on August 19 last year.

Assistant MUP Minister Rejects Threats

LD1908145691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] are ready to defend the village of Kijevo and it is out of the question that we will withdraw in the face of any threats, Milan Brezak, assistant Croatian minister of internal affairs, said at a news conference in the Croatian Assembly this morning.

He labelled a letter "from the minister of internal affairs of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina", Milan Martic, who demanded the MUP withdrawal from the village of Kijevo within 48 hours, as a threat by a "terrorist organization against a legal police station".

Zagreb Jewish Center Attack 'Bitterly' Condemned

LD1908133991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Government statement adopted at a meeting in Zagreb on 19 August—read by announcer]

[Text] The government of the Republic of Croatia bitterly condemns the criminal terrorist attack on the Jewish community center in Zagreb. The government expresses its solidarity with the Jewish community and all Jews in our country and expresses its readiness to help

and fully protest them. It is doing everything so the perpetrators of the crime are discovered as soon as possible [words indistinct].

In the dirty war against the Republic of Croatia, obviously no punches are being pulled. They even plant bombs throughout Croatia to threaten peace and democratic development, and with this crime they are trying to damage the good relations between Jews and Croats and compromise the position of democratic Croatia vis-a-vis the world's public. It is not by chance that this has happened precisely in the wake of a statement of solidarity issued by Jewish communities in Croatia with the just struggle of the Croatian people and all citizens of Croatia for their sovereignty, freedom, and equality.

Following the acts of genocide against the Croats and Hungarians and other nationalities throughout the whole of Croatia, this act is a continuation of the criminal policy of revenge against all nations and ethnic groups who support the struggle for a sovereign and democratic Croatia. The production of lies about Croatia, with the aim of portraying and proclaiming it as undemocratic, was to have won the argument in front of the international public with this criminal act, and so it is no coincidence that it was precisely the Jewish community that was selected.

We take the view that last night's explosion is not merely coincidental with the dramatic events in the USSR but also with the possible heralding of similar dramatic events in Yugoslavia. This is not aimed only against Jews but it is also part of a broader plan to block democratic processes in Eastern Europe. The government calls on all citizens in these difficult and dramatic moments to demonstrate, as they have done before, their determination and readiness to defend, together, the sovereignty of Croatia, peace, and democracy.

Minister Meets Albanian Ambassador on Cooperation

LD1908160591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Dr. Zvonimir Separovic and Albanian Ambassador to the SFRY Kujtim Hysenaj held talks on the possibilities of foreign political cooperation between Albania and Croatia. On this occasion, the ambassador expressed satisfaction with the fact that contacts between Tirana and Zagreb have been strengthened and agreements signed between Albania and Croatia on trade and cooperation. There was also discussion of the economic and social difficulties facing both sides, and Minister Separovic informed his guest of Croatia's endeavors in connection with the internationalization of the conflict.

Osijek Officials Blame Army for Four Deaths

AU2008112691 Paris AFP in English 1027 GMT 20 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (AFP)—The Yugoslav Army and Serbian autonomists killed four civilians and wounded 18 in Osijek overnight Monday and early Tuesday, the town's Mayor Zlatko Kramaric said at a press conference carried by Croatian television.

He and the deputy speaker of the Croatian parliament Vladimir Seks said 100 shells fell on the city centre, killing a tramdriver and a passenger.

Kindergartens and historical monuments were among other civilian targets, and the cathedral's stained glass windows more than a century old were shattered.

Seks said there was simultaneously mortar and heavy weapons fire on the industrial district on the outskirts, and he asked rhetorically who was supplying such a range of weaponry to the Serbs.

The attack on Osijek 200 kilometres (120 miles) from here and on Vinkovci and Beli Manastir in the surrounding region showed that the Federal Army "does not want to respect the ceasefire" decreed on August 7, Kramaric commented.

The Belgrade daily paper POLITIKA EKSPRES reported that a "real war" was raging in the centre of Osijek.

The Yugoslav collective presidency meanwhile began a scheduled two-day meeting here to try to agree on how the six constituent republics could continue to live together.

The agenda included measures to ensure the running of the country during the three-month moratorium on implementing the unilateral declarations of independence made in late June by Slovenia and Croatia.

Chetniks Resume Okucani Attacks 19 Aug

LD1908131591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Vladimir Fajgl report]

[Excerpt] Last night's lull in the crisis in Okucani's theater of war ended this morning when Chetniks went back in action. They launched their attack with sporadic mortar shelling aimed at almost all the positions held by [Croatian] internal affairs ministry and national guard forces. In all probability, this appears to be a provocation. The heavy rain that has been falling in this area seems set to considerably hamper the work of the engineering unit of the Federal Army, whose movement—that is, its advance across the Sava bridge, linking Bosanska Gradiska and Stara Gradiska, and along the Banja Luka-Bosanska Gradiska motorway toward Okucani—ground to a halt yesterday near the mined—that is, destroyed—bridge over Strug canal. [passage omitted]

Croatian Forces Hold Out in Pakrac

LD2008001191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Ana Mudric report]

[Excerpt] Despite fierce attacks launched by terrorists with destructive weapons - mortars, machine guns, snipers, and small arms—the Pakrac police station is still holding out, mostly due to the superhuman strength, persistance, and courage of its defenders. After receiving reinforcements from Bjelovar and Kutina, which encircled the attackers who are scattered around Pakrac, the defenders of the police station could take only a brief break, because fierce attacks by terrorists are relentless. [passage omitted]

Ministry Reports 55 Killed Since Cease-Fire

LD1908151191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—In the past 12 days, since the decision on a ceasefire in Croatia became effective, at least 55 people were killed in that Yugoslav republic, a Croatian interior ministry report said today.

According to the report, distributed to reporters this morning in republican parliament, 130 armed incidents were recorded in Croatia in the past 12 days. In these incidents, 10 members of the republican police and national guard corps were killed, and 51 were wounded. In the same period, 11 civilians were killed and 16 were wounded.

The interior ministry said that at least "25 terrorists were killed, five were wounded, and 27 arrested" in the latest clashes in Croatia.

The Croatian authorities call the rebelling Serbian civilians terrorists.

According to the Croatian ministry report, four soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) were killed in the past two days in the clashes in the region of Okucani and Stara Gradiska alone, on the border with the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to the official figures of the ministry, 125 members of the Croatian interior ministry and national guard corps were killed and 326 wounded since the unrest in Croatia began a year ago. In the same period, 57 civilians were killed and 136 wounded.

New Clashes Reported in Crisis Areas

LD1908190291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, August 19 (TANJUG)—New clashes occured in the crisis areas in Croatia in Slavonija, Baranja, Lika and Kordun during the night and early this morning, but there is no information of new victims.

In the town of Pakrac (western Slavonia), sporadic shooting from automatic arms which started early this morning after a strong mortar attack, can still be heard. During the first attack on the town 40 mortars were fired, to be followed by ten-odd mortar attacks, as reported by TANJUG reporter. The last mortar fell in a residential area. Artillery fire can be heard during lulls in shooting and mortar fire.

Most of the firing is directed against the police station from the surrounding six hills with counter-firing coming from the town. There is shooting in the residential areas too, so that one woman was wounded in street skirmishes this morning.

The town of Daruvar, in the same region, also came under mortar fire early this morning. Two mortars hit the municipality buildings and the police were shot at [words indistinct] railway station. Ten-odd policemen of Serbian nationality have left Daruvar's police station. It is assumed here that that they have joined units of the territorial defence for western Slavonia.

The municipality of Vrgin Most was the scene of strong clashes last night between members of Croatian paramilitary formations and local territorial defence forces. The conflict erupted after succesive provocations and movements by Croatian police and the Croatian National Guard from the direction of Topusko towards the village of Poljani which is predominantly Serb-populated. Forces in Vrgin Most returned fire and forced the Croatian armed formations to retreat to their starting positions. Vrgin Most defenders did not sustain casualities or wounded, while it is believed that the Croatian police and guard have several dead.

Croatian radio reports that there was shooting in Peplane near Virovitica today, and that fighting has resumed in Okucani, some 14 km from the border with neighbouring Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The police headquarters in Gospic (Lika) said this morning that nearby Lovinac had also been attacked with mortar fire last night. There is no information on the damage, and all telephone links with Lovinac are down.

It was announced in Livno (Kordun) that the police chief's car was blown up last night, and that nobody was hurt.

Croatian Assistant Interior Minister Milan Brezak said today that Croatia's armed formations were prepared to defend Kijevo (Kninska Krajina) which is predominantly Croat-populated.

Interior minister of the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, Milan Martic, in yesterday's letter gives Croatian armed forces a 48 hours deadline to withdraw from Kijevo. Brezak has called this a "threat to the legal police force by a terrorist organization."

The Serbian autonomous region of Krajina which has a majority Serbian population proclaimed independence,

and as such is not recognized by the Croatian authorities. According to Brezak, "there is is no possibility of withdrawal from Kijevo, no matter what the threats."

Cease-Fire Violations Reported in Slavonia

AU1908152191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Despite the presence of the observers' commission in Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, the truce is still not being observed. Mirko Stankovic reports:

[Stankovic] Slavonia was not quiet again last night. This refers particularly to the territory of the Osijek commune. Osijek itself was the target of mortar attacks. According to reports from Tenja, some 20 grenades were fired on the eastern part of the town. Half of them fell on the city center. The damage appears to be significant, although the real extent of the damage has yet to be established.

Some shooting also took place near Djakovo. Several mortar projectiles fell on the city center. There is no information on casualties.

The quiet night in Vukovar was disturbed by barrage fire from automatic weapons near the Djurdjevic Brothers primary schools near Kriva Bara. Glowing flares were fired from Principovac toward Ilok and the 25 May Bridge.

This morning a special train departed from Osijek for Nemetin, with the task of repairing parts of the tracks that were destroyed by mines. The last of the wheat harvested this year was today sent to Sid from the Vinkovci commune, or to be more precise, from the Serbian villages. The routes were protected by personnel carriers of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The children of Croatian nationality who were sent from Vukovar to the Adriatic coast for security reason will not be returning until the general circumstances in the area stabilize. This is why the beginning of the school year will be postponed.

As we are talking about this flight to tourist resorts, let us say that the Osijek bishop and [word indistinct] recently spoke of this, boasting that some 10,000 Croatian refugees had been sent to the Adriatic coast thanks to him. In this way, the activities of the Osijek tourist agencies, Generalturist and Panturist, have been seriously undermined. They defend themselves by saying that they have done this for purely patriotic reasons.

SAR Forces Reportedly Secure Pakrac

AU1908213791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Excerpt] [Zeljko Mandic report] The war in this part of Western Slavonia is continuing with full ferocity. According to the latest information, the whole of Pakrac is held by units of the 12th Slavonian Brigade and the territorial defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Western Slavonia. We have learned that the action of freeing the town from the remaining sharpshooters and members of the Croatian Democratic Community who control the radio stations is under way. According to the same sources, all forces of the territorial defense and the 12th Slavonian Brigade are concentrating on Prekopakra village, which lies above the town of Pakrac and is predominantly populated by Croats. It is from this village that the sharpshooters with silencers are most frequently seen. The members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the Croatian Guard [word indistinct] mortar fire from the region of Matkovac village, which is also predominantly populated by Croats. However, we have learned that their shooting will soon receive a fierce response. According to information we obtained and that we could verify, the territorials and fighters of the 12th Brigade have captured a larger number of the armed Croatian Democratic Community members and members of the police. At the moment housing them represents the greatest problem. To the reports by the Croatian media that larger forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs are already advancing from the direction of Bjelovar and Kutina, the fighters of the SAR of Western Slavonia reply that they are ready to face them. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Socialist Party Official on Conflict With Croatia

AU1608163991 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Aug 91 p 6

[Interview with Petar Skundric, Socialist Party of Serbia general secretary, by Radoslav M. Prochazka in Belgrade; date not given: "The Issue Is Not a Conflict Between Serbs and Croats"]

[Text] Despite the fact that Belgrade's inhabitants act as if they know nothing about the Serb-Croat conflict and that an apparent truce prevails in other parts of Yugoslavia, the atmosphere in Serbia's capital is not idyllic. Therefore, the meeting between a DEMYC (Association of Young European Democrats) delegation—composed of Klaus Welle, Artur Winkler, and Radoslav Prochazka—with Petar Skundric, Socialist Party of Serbia (the former Communist Party) general secretary, also took place in an atmosphere of tension and confrontation.

[Prochazka] The unifying component of all the opposition political streams in Serbia is the idea that the current crisis in Yugoslavia is not a conflict between the Serb and Croat peoples, but is a conflict between warring governments.

[Skundric] The issue is really not a conflict between Serbs and Croats, it is a war being conducted by the Croatian government against Serbian people living in Croatia. From the Serbian point of view, this can be

perceived as defense against Croatian government terrorism. The only step taken by our government was to provide material assistance to Serbs living in Croatia, without which they would have been biologically eliminated within the course of a few days.

[Prochazka] In the event that Tudjman's government collapses, would the political conditions for Serb-Croat negotiations be more suitable?

[Skundric] We are willing to accept any legitimate representative of the Croatian people as a suitable partner for negotiations, but the problem is not the individual. The misunderstanding is that neither the Slovene nor the Croatian authorities are the legitimate representatives of their republics.

[Prochazka] The Croatian representatives course of action is, in view of the fact that the Yugoslav Federal Army is commanded by Serbian officers, more than understandable. Federal troops have obviously been acting in Serbian interests since the start of the conflict.

[Skundric] On what do you base your judgment? Let me give you some facts: During my visit to Austria, I read in the local newspapers how Serbia had attacked Slovenia. The fact is that in 1976 federal troops were given an order to defend Yugoslavia's borders and territory without using force. This order was issued by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic, who is a Croat. The Slovene Territorial Defense Force, which is illegal, then attacked the Federal Army and killed almost 40 young soldiers, men younger than you. The federal forces had to respond.

As far as the Federal Army's officer corps is concerned, Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs are represented in it proportionately. One of the most important Federal Army commanders is a Slovene. The chief of the Army Command is a Croat. The Yugoslav foreign minister is also a Croat. The idea of accusing Serbian generals of starting the conflicts was a propaganda move that brought about a shift in European public opinion away from objectivity, and not toward it.

[Prochazka] The video recordings and the reports about the brutal attacks on the civilian population in Croatia are also objective facts. What about them?

[Skundric] More than 50,000 Serbian women, children, and old people have fled from Croatia since the beginning of the conflict because they were constantly terrorized there by the Croatian government's pro-fascist regime. On the other hand, not one Croat has fled from the Serbian Republic. Our party was against individual political groupings forming armed units. However, the Croatian ruling party (the Croatian Democratic Union) took such steps and armed its supporters with weapons. On Croat Television they have also been successful in presenting Serbian victims as Croatian victims. It is likewise known that the Croats spent large amounts of money in corrupting journalists from the diplomatic corps so they would influence public opinion in Europe. Serbia is not in a state of war with Croatia. This is a matter of the Serbian population in Croatia's self-defense. This has to be organized in a military manner.

[Prochazka] Many experts consider the formation of a Serbian Army to be unnecessary as it is represented by federal troops.

[Skundric] Nonsense. Croatia would have no chance in a direct struggle with Serbia and would suffer a bloody defeat. Twelve million Serbs live in Yugoslavia and only 4 million Croats. (European statistics refer to just under 9 million Serbs—author's note) You probably do not know that the proposal to withdraw the Federal Army from Slovenia came from Serbian representatives.

[Prochazka] Is a civil war the solution to the crisis, then?

[Skundric] Our plan was to construct a democratic federal Yugoslavia as a union of citizens and national subjects. We wanted to construct a federal assembly where, based on the results of federal elections, all Yugoslav political parties would have an opportunity to function. The republics' legitimate representatives would then be able—by means of discussions and negotiations—to reach a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. However, the Slovene and Croatian representatives refused to participate in such elections. We did not intervene in their internal affairs, and we do not want to intervene in them. But the more than 700,000 Serbs living in Croatia must have equal civil and human rights. That is to say, the Serbs in Croatia are not a minority; they are a nation that enjoys equal rights.

We are not opposed to the idea of Slovenes, Croats, and other nations in Yugoslavia freely deciding whether they want to remain in a common Yugoslav state or not. However, we will not permit the Serbs to be considered an ethnic minority by the pro-fascist Croat regime.

[Prochazka] Do you still believe there is a future for a federal Yugoslavia?

[Skundric] Yes. We are considering a federal Yugoslavia even in the event that Slovenia and Croatia will not be part of it. We will live in a federal union with the other Yugoslav republics.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Meets With Group of Intellectuals

AU1908192691 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic met today with a group of intellectuals from Bosnia-Hercegovina who handed him [words indistinct] for saving the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The group of intellectuals consisted of Ivan Lovrenovic, Mile [second name indistinct], and [name indistinct].

They talked about the (?evidently) difficult position of Bosnia-Hercegovina at this crisis time. Bosnia-Hercegovina is our only real homeland. It was created through (?a historic period) that lasted a long time, it emerged from [word indistinct] three world civilizations and as a joint state of three nations: Serbs, Croats, and Muslims. Attempts are being made today to deny the 800-year-old continuity of the statehood and sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina and to alter the republican borders, the intellectuals pointed out.

Accepting the [word indistinct], Izetbegovic said: I also hope that this represents only the start of the list, that this does not (?exhaust) the list of the signatories, and that a large number of people (?are inclined toward this) because we think that this is the only way to preserve [words indistinct] peace here. On the other hand, if we do not embark on this road, I think that [passage indistinct], a large number of people support this [words indistinct], Izetbegovic stated.

Kljujic Warns Against Bloodiest War in History

AU1908184291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] If general mobilization and a general war do occur in Croatia, the Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina will defend their brothers in the Republic of Croatia. This is not an act of (?my) bravery, but the decision of the Croatian people from Bosnia-Hercegovina, which I as (?their representative) must respect. Stjepan Kljujic, president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said this, among other things, in a conversation with journalists in Dubrovnik where he and (?Miro Vasic), minister in the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, visited a group of Croatian refugees from Vukovar.

If the West does not intervene in the course of the next few days, I think that things will either go back 100 years, or that there will be the bloodiest war in the history of civilization, Stjepan Kljujic said.

MBO Issues Warning to Izetbegovic

LD1908200991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, August 19 (TANJUG)—The leaders of the Moslem Bosnian Organization (MBO) today accused Alija Izetbegovic, the leader of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and the president of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, of being behind militant groups of SDA who are terrorizing members of the MBO.

A letter by MBO leaders to Alija Izetbegovic and the republican Interior Ministry says that 'evidence of this are recent incidents in Novi Pazar and Zvornik, when the safety of MBO members and top officials was seriously threatened'.

The MBO, a party of some Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Serbian Democratic Party recently agreed on a joint platform on the future federative order of Yugoslavia.

The agreement is opposed by the Party of Democratic Action which is headed by Bosnia-Hercgovina President Alija Izetbegovic.

The leaders of MBO, Adil Zulfikarpasic and Muhamed Filipovic, were seriously threatened recently in the towns of Novi Pazar and Zvornik when they tried to set up regional centers of their Party.

The MBO leaders suggests to Izetbegovic to abandon and condemn the 'methods of terror and personal intimidation'.

'If the incidents happen again, we shall consider you personally responsible for all the consequences and on the basis of such an evaluation take appropriate measures', the letter concllde s.

Macedonia

Officials Meet Croat Leaders on Settling Crisis

LD1908223191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Ohrid, Aug 19 (TANJUG)—The presidents of the parliaments of Macedonia and Croatia today assessed that the basic condition for the settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia was respect of the sovereignty of republics, their territorial integrity and the inviolablity of republican borders, as well as an end of all war activities on the territory of Croatia and the entire country.

Macedonian Parliament President Stojan Andonov and Croatian Parliament President Zarko Domljan agreed during their meeting at Lake Ohrid that definitive solutions, ultimatums, pressures and the use of military force were unacceptable.

They concluded that the army should withdraw to barracks and that it could not politically arbitrate in agreements between the republics.

The delegations of the Macedonian and Croatian parliaments took a joint stand on the need to internationalize the crisis in Yugoslavia through institutions of the European Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The two parliamentary delegations also discussed the possibilities for organizing a future alliance of sovereign states on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia.